REYNOLDS HISTORICAL
GENEALOGY COLLECTION

ALLEN COUNTY PUBLIC LIBRARY
3 1833 01754 5747

GENEALOGY
979.7
W27390
V.5

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2013

http://archive.org/details/washingtonhistor05wash

The Washington Historical Quarterly

VOLUME V.

1914

THE WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY
STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY
UNIVERSITY STATION
SEATTLE, WASHINGTON

The Washington Historical Quarterly

Board of Editors

CLARENCE B. BAGLEY, Seattle.
W. D. LYMAN, Walla Walla.
J. N. BOWMAN, Seattle.
T. C. ELLIOTT, Walla Walla.
FRANK A. GOLDER, Pullman.
CEYLON S. KINGSTON, Cheney.
EDWARD MCMAHON, Seattle.
THOMAS W. PROSCH, Seattle.
OLIVER H. RICHARDSON, Seattle.
C. B. SPERLIN, Tacoma.
E. O. S. SCHOLEFIELD, Victoria, B. C.
ALLEN WEIR, *Olympia.*

Managing Editor
EDMOND S. MEANY

Business Manager
CHARLES W. SMITH

F 708781

VOL V, NO. 1 JANUARY, 1914

ISSUED QUARTERLY

Contents

CLARENCE B. BAGLEY .. George Wilkes .. 3
LEWIS H. ST. JOHN .. The Present Status and Probable Future of the Indians of Puget Sound .. 12
THOMAS W. PROSCH .. The Pioneer Dead of 1913 .. 22
W. J. TRIMBLE .. American and British Treatment of the Indians in the Pacific Northwest .. 32
DOCUMENTS—An Indignation Meeting Over Chief Leschi .. 55
BOOK REVIEWS .. 57
NEWS DEPARTMENT .. 66
NORTHWESTERN HISTORY SYLLABUS .. 69
REPRINT DEPARTMENT—George Wilkes: History of Oregon, Geographical, Geological, and Political (New York, Colyer, 1845) .. 72

THE WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY
STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

UNIVERSITY STATION
SEATTLE, WASHINGTON

Entered at the Postoffice at Seattle as second-class mail matter.

The Washington University State Historical Society

Officers and Board of Trustees:

CLARENCE B. BAGLEY, President

JUDGE JOHN P. HOYT, Vice-President

JUDGE ROGER S. GREENE, Treasurer

PROFESSOR EDMOND S. MEANY, Secretary

JUDGE CORNELIUS H. HANFORD

JUDGE THOMAS BURKE

SAMUEL HILL

PRINTING DEPARTMENT UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON

Vol. V. No. 1 *January, 1914*

The Washington Historical Quarterly

GEORGE WILKES

The republication of George Wilkes' History of Oregon, begun in the Quarterly in October, 1906, is completed in the present issue.

In several ways the book or pamphlet is of much historical importance. It was prepared by a journalist rather than a historian, and with a sincere desire to give accurate information regarding the Oregon Country and the best means of getting there, and without expectation of gain in its publication.

At a time when railroads and railroading were in their infancy, Mr. Wilkes was among the first to realize the importance of long and connecting lines of rail communication, and so far as I have been able to ascertain was the first to publicly advocate the building of a line from the Atlantic to the Pacific by the National Government. He argued against land grants or subsidies to private individuals or corporations. The government ownership of the proposed road was the central idea of part I of the book. It was published in New York in 1845. In 1847 he published another pamphlet entitled "Proposal for a National Rail-Road to the Pacific Ocean, for the Purpose of Obtaining a Short Route to Oregon and the Indies." The latter repeated many of the arguments of the earlier work, in fact had little new material. Both are exceedingly scarce at the present day.

In the preface to the book, Wilkes says: "The second part of the work consists of a journal, prepared from a series of letters, written by a gentleman now in Oregon, who himself accompanied the celebrated emigrating expedition of 1843. They make no pretensions in their style, but are merely simple, conversational epistles, which in their familiar, off-hand way, furnish a large amount of useful practical information to the emigrant, and much interesting matter to the general reader. The author

has done scarcely more to this portion than to throw it into chapters, and to strike from it such historical and geographical statistics as had been drawn from other sources, and arranged in the preceding portions of the work. These letters fell into his hands after the adoption and commencement of his original design; and adapting them to his purpose, by linking them with his own mss., a deal of research was saved him by the valuable and peculiar information they contributed."

Mr. Wilkes did not disclose the name of the writer of the letters, and in fact their authorship was never formally announced, but internal evidence proves they were written by Peter H. Burnett.

Mr. Burnett was born in Nashville, Tennessee, November 15, 1807. The family removed to Missouri in 1817. He was almost entirely self-taught, as in his childhood and youth he had little opportunity of going to school. When about 26 years of age he began the study of law, but continued in other business until in 1839 he abandoned mercantile pursuits and began the practice of law. In 1842 he determined to go to Oregon. May 8, 1843, he left his home in Weston, Missouri, with two ox wagons, one small two-horse wagon, four yoke of oxen, two mules, and a fair supply of provisions. He had a wife and six children. They arrived at the rendezvous, some twelve miles west of Independence, just across the state line and in the Indian country, on the 17th of May. Five days later a general start was made and this historic migration was begun.

An excellent account of the trip is given in Part II of Wilkes' History.

Mr. Burnett was quite prominent in Oregon affairs until 1848, when he was attracted to California by its rich gold fields, and after a time he sent for his family to join him there.

In August, 1849, he was chosen one of the Judges of the Supreme Tribunal of California, and on the 13th of November of that year he was elected Governor. The Constitutional Convention had been held in September and October. California was admitted a state September 9, 1850. Governor Burnett sent in his resignation in January, 1851, and resumed the practice of law. In 1857-8 he served as a Justice of the Supreme Court of the State. Later he engaged in the banking business.

In 1880 there was issued from the press of D. Appleton & Co. the "Recollections and Opinions of an Old Pioneer," written by Mr. Burnett. It is an extremely interesting narrative of his life in Missouri, Oregon and California, and valuable for its history of pioneer life on the Pacific Coast.

In the annual address before the Oregon Pioneers at Portland, in April, 1895, appears the following:

"Perhaps the demise of no one has attracted more widespread at-

tention nor caused deeper sorrow on the Pacific Coast than the death of the late Peter H. Burnett, the first Governor of California, and an Oregon Pioneer of 1843, who had served in the legislature and was one of the justices of the supreme court."

Jesse Applegate was the only other gentleman who was with the 1843 immigration who might possibly have written the letters, but they contain dates, locations and facts that make sure the declaration that Burnett wrote them.

A discussion between William I. Marshall, the author of the "Acquisition of Oregon," and Professor Schafer, of the University of Oregon, regarding this book, the authorship of its letters, etc., was published in the Oregonian in 1903. Both gentlemen seem to have agreed that letters written by Mr. Burnett and by him sent to the New York Herald for publication formed the basis of Part II of Wilkes' book, but they disagreed as to the value of the work as an "Original Source" of history. References to places and affairs in Oregon were quoted in substantiation of their conclusions. In this connection both gentlemen seem to have overlooked a paragraph on page 113 that, to my mind, is more nearly conclusive than the others, as follows:

"The more extended political organization of which I before spoke, is about to take place, and I was waited upon two or three days ago by a party from the Falls, to consult upon a plan of general territorial government, with a legislature of two houses, and a Chief Justice for its first executive officer. This arrangement will embrace all the settlements of the valley into one common government, the representatives of which will convene in general congress, at stated periods, at Multnomah or Oregon City, and there transact all the necessary business for our little body politic. When this plan is adopted, (as it doubtless will immediately be) it will perhaps, be the peculiar honor of your humble servant, to sit in a curule chair of the first Republican Government beyond the Rocky Mountains. We shall then be able to make our own laws, and likewise do our own voting and our own fighting."

A few months later Mr. Burnett was chosen Chief Justice of Oregon, under its provisional government, thus fulfilling the prediction in his letter above quoted.

Wilkes must have written considerable of Part II of his book before acquiring the letters, and then instead of rewriting it he tried to work in the letters. In some places this was quite clumsily done. The first chapter is nearly all fictitious, both in names and facts. Robbins, Smith, Harris, Baker, Brown, McFarley, Wayne and Dumberton were not members of the party, and near the bottom of page 65 Burnett is introduced to Peter

H. Burnett. Why Wilkes should have failed to give the name of the writer is unexplainable. In minor details it was often inaccurate, but in important facts and in giving intending emigrants information about Oregon and those on the way there valuable facts about roads, fords, grass, distances, etc., it was reliable.

Commenting upon the road from the upper waters of the Sweetwater to Fort Hall, Professor Schafer says: "When we inquire into what motive could have induced Wilkes to deliberately deceive his readers with reference to this piece of road, only one natural answer suggests itself. He evidently was doing it in the interest of his railroad scheme."

The writer remembers vividly that part of the road in 1852. A lad of eight years, in common with the women and other children of the party, he trudged afoot along many weary miles of this road, up and down many long and, to his mind, interminable hills, through the biting frost of early morn and the torrid heat of midday, and he can testify to its roughness and manifold difficulties.

Against Prof. Schafer's comment I wish to protest most emphatically. Mr. Wilkes was a man of high ideals, of lofty public spirit. It was impossible for him to "deliberately deceive" anyone. To attempt deceit carries with it unworthy or dishonest motives. A reader of Wilkes' writings, his books, pamphlets and newspapers, will find an entire absence of selfishness or wish for private gain or personal aggrandizement at the expense of anyone.

One writer has described the style of the book as "flamboyant," which is doubtless true, but greater faults than this can readily be forgiven one not more than twenty-seven years of age who devotes his splendid talents, his time and his money to the exploitation of a colossal national improvement that for the period of seventy years ago was of infinitely more importance to the United States, and especially to the Pacific Coast, than the Panama Canal of today. By most people his proposal was thought more impossible of achievement than today would be an effort to establish a line of airships between the earth and the moon. He was a little more than twenty years in advance of his time. The first transcontinental line was completed in 1869 and the scandals that followed its construction served to prove Wilkes' contention about the unwisdom of susidizing railroads by land grants or money and still permitting private ownership of them.

Particular importance attaches to this book for another reason. The migration of 1843, consisting of about 900 men, women and children, who brought with them large numbers of horses and cattle, fruit trees, etc., was the first large one. It strengthened the hands of the men who had

at all times demanded that the claims of Great Britain to any part of Old Oregon south of latitude 49 degrees should be resisted at all hazards, by force of arms if necessary. The speeches of Linn, Benton, Calhoun, Webster, Clay and nearly all the notable men of the period between 1819 and 1846 show a surprising knowledge of the soil, climate, productions of land and water, its commercial advantages and all the varied details of the grazing and agricultural possibilities of Old Oregon. The record shows that these matters were familiar to these great men before an American missionary or American settler had reached Oregon.

Until many years later no member of that migration published an account of it except these letters to the Herald and fragmentary notes from others. The journals of Burnett and others, so far as they have been given to the public, were jotted down from time to time by men wearied by unremitting toil, who had no time or disposition to record more than the briefest itinerary of the day. Therefore, with all its faults, Wilkes' book is of priceless value as a memorial to Congress about the Oregon of that period and the history of its local events and men of seventy years ago.

To one familiar, as was the writer of this paper, with the remarkable editorials appearing in the Spirit of the Times during all the Civil War period, with their vigorous English, their fervent loyalty and lofty patriotism, the style of the book is not comparable, but in giving the salient facts about the migration and the conditions then existing in the Willamette Valley it is so accurate that an occasional slip of the pen can be readily condoned.

At the time of his death, which occurred September 23, 1885, the New York Herald and the Times each devoted nearly a column to his obituary and other newspapers of that city and other Atlantic cities made more or less extended mention of him and his life.

The Librarian of the New York Public Library has furnished me with photostat reproductions of the obituaries of Mr. Wilkes published by the New York Herald and Times and the Spirit of the Times. The latter article, dated September 26, 1885, is given in full below:

"We regret to record the death, in this city, on Wednesday, of George Wilkes, one of the founders and proprietors of The Spirit of The Times, and for many years its sole editor. Mr. Wilkes joined the staff of this paper when it was called Porter's Spirit. A division of the proprietorship having occurred, he continued its publication under the title of Wilkes' Spirit until 1866, when his name was dropped. He lived abroad for several years, in the enjoyment of an ample income, which enabled him to indulge his cultivated tastes, and returned here a few months ago, as if he felt some premonition of his approaching death, and desired

to rest in his native land, which he loved enthusiastically and served zealously.

"George Wilkes was, in his way, one of the foremost American journalists. He not only founded the greatest paper of its class which this country has ever possessed, but he made it, during the Civil War, as tremendous a power in national politics as it has always been in the departments to which it is more particularly devoted. Among such giants of journalism as James Gordon Bennett, Horace Greeley, Henry J. Raymond, Charles A. Dana and William Cullen Bryant—of whom only Mr. Dana now remains to us—Mr. Wilkes held an equal place by virtue of his remarkable talents. They had daily papers in which to address the public; his paper was published only once a week; but they all conceded the vigor and brilliancy of his writing and his articles in The Spirit were republished so extensively that their circulation may be said to have been world wide. His editorials during the War were regularly reprinted in the Tribune and some of them were read in Congress. His advice was asked and followed by President Lincoln and the members of his famous Cabinet. Having convinced himself that General McClellan was inefficient, Mr. Wilkes fairly wrote him out of the command of the Army of the Potomac. He was largely instrumental in bringing Grant to take charge of our Eastern armies. He was on most intimate terms with the leading statesmen and generals of the Union.

"Mr. Wilkes went to the front at the outbreak of the Rebellion and witnessed and described for The Spirit the battle of Bull Run. In the concluding words of that report he gave the keynote for all patriots by stating that the South had fought so well as to be worthy of being brought back into the Union. Throughout the magnificent series of letters and editorials which illuminated the pages of The Spirit this was the text which Mr. Wilkes enforced. He never displayed toward the misguided men who were trying to break up the Union the bitter animosity with which he hunted down the incompetent leaders of the Union side, whose incapacity delayed the restoration of peace and unity. He never doubted the ultimate salvation of the Republic, but he was righteously impatient with those who did not share his faith and agree with him in his opinions of men and measures. He labored ardently to hasten the triumph of the Union as any soldier in the field—as General Grant himself. If he made any mistakes they were on the side of patriotism and were due to his anxiety to hurry on the inevitable victory. One mistake of his in regard to General Fitz John Porter cost that officer his condemnation by Court Martial and nearly cost him his life. But Mr. Wilkes lived to see this error redeemed by the full justice done to General Porter in The Spirit, by Grant, by

Congress and by the American people. In the fever and fury of a Civil War such injustices could scarcely be altogether avoided; but Mr. Wilkes went with our armies, saw personally the matters which he criticised, and, in McClellan's camp on the Peninsula, caught the disease which has finally resulted in his decease.

"George Wilkes has been so long absent from editorial connection with The Spirit that his death will not affect it in any way. But, like all strong individualities, he has left a permanent impression upon the paper which he so long conducted. His energetic and splendid style of writing elevated the journalism of sports from the slipslop methods of his predecessors. He attempted to banish slang from every department of The Spirit and he succeeded. In Shakespeare he found a living well of English undefiled and there he sought for strength and purity of diction. After his retirement from practical journalism, he wrote a commentary upon Shakespeare which is remarkable for its original views and theories. But Mr. Wilkes felt that the work of his life had ended with the Civil War and that thereafter he might take such enjoyment as his broken health permitted. He made business arrangements which left him free to live or travel wherever he pleased and independent of all cares and responsibilities. Never afraid of death and boldly facing it a hundred times in the discharge of what he believed to be his duty, he finally died at home, peacefully and fearlessly."

Allibone's Dictionary of Authors, Vol. 3, p. 2720, quotes the following: "New York, April 28, 1870.—George Wilkes, the proprietor of the Spirit of the Times, has received from the Emperor of Russia the Grand Cross of the Order of St. Stanislas, as a recognition for the suggestion made to the Russian Government in reference to an overland railway to China and India by way of Russia. This mark of royal favor entitles the holder to have his male children at the Military School of Russia at the expense of the State."

This great honor from the Russian Government came to him about a quarter century after he had been made the object of jest and ridicule for a similar suggestion backed by sound argument for a railroad across the United States. Scriptural comment: "A prophet is not without honor save in his own country."

The New York Times said of him that when the Civil War broke out Wilkes wrote a series of newspaper and magazine articles on the burning question of the hour that attracted wide attention, and gained him the friendship of many prominent men. Secretary Stanton took a personal interest in him, and gave him a great deal of literary work to do in Washington. His articles were very vigorous, well written, and patriotic. They

commanded a wide influence, and besides strengthening the attachment of the author to people who had heretofore been his friends, they had the effect of subduing the belligerence and increasing the caution of his enemies.

In April, 1860, Frank Leslie's "Illustrated Newspaper" published a photograph of him and a brief but complimentary note about him.

In 1849 Mr. Wilkes went to California with David C. Broderick, who afterward became U. S. Senator from that State. Wilkes took great interest in the political fortunes of Broderick, and rendered him valuable services. In 1851 he returned to New York and resumed his career as a journalist.

Early pioneers will remember the wave of indignation that swept over the Pacific Coast when it was known that Broderick had been killed in a duel with David S. Terry. The latter became widely known as Judge Terry, whose tragic death while attempting to murder Justice Field is comparatively recent California history.

The fatal meeting took place September 13, 1859, and Broderick died three days later. Volumes have been written about this duel. It was quite generally believed it was the result of a conspiracy among the leaders of the ultra slaveholding wing of the then dominant party in the State to get rid of Broderick at all hazards.

Broderick's great friendship became apparent when his will was made public. An estate valued at $300,000 was all left to Wilkes, except one legacy of $10,000. Considerable litigation between him and the State of California ensued. The ultimate verdict was in favor of the legatee, but the estate had shrunk a good deal on account of the heavy costs of the law suit.

Under date of Washington, September 9, 1913, the Librarian of Congress gave me the following list of the writings of George Wilkes so far as he had been able to find them:

Europe in a Hurry. New York, H. Long & Brother, 1853. 449 pp.

The Great Battle, Fought at Manassas, Between the Federal Forces, under Gen. McDowell, and the Rebels, under Gen. Beauregard, Sunday, July 21, 1861. From notes taken on the spot. New York, Brown & Ryan, 1861. 36 pp.

History of California. New York, 1845. (Note.—It is doubtful if this book was published, as it is not in the Library of Congress and I have never seen a reference to it.—C. B. B.)

The History of Oregon, Geographical and political. New York, W. H. Collyer, 1845. 128 pp.

The Internationale; its principles and purposes. Being a sequel to the Defence of the Commune. New York, 1871. 23 pp.

The Lives of Helen Jewett and Richard Robinson. New York, H. Long & Brother, 1849. 132 pp.

McClellan; from Ball's Bluff to Antietam. New York, S. Tousey, 1863. 40 pp.

"McClellan"; who he is and "what he has done," and "Little Mac; from Ball's Bluff to Antietam." Both in one. New York, The American News Company, 1864. 14 pp.

Project of a National Rail-Road from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean for the Purpose of Obtaining a Short Route to Oregon and the Indies. 2d ed. Republished from the "History of Oregon." New York, The Author, 1845. 23 pp.

Proposal for a National Rail-Road to the Pacific Ocean, for the Purpose of Obtaining a Short Route to Oregon and the Indies. 4th ed. Rev. and repub. from the "History of Oregon." New York, D. Adee, 1847. 24 pp.

Shakespeare from an American Point of View. New York, D. Appleton, 1877.

The Mysteries of the Tombs, a Journal of Thirty Days' Imprisonment in the New York City Prison for Libel. New York, 1844, 64 pp.

Wilkes, George, vs. John F. Chamberlin. N. Y. Supreme Court. The answer of John F. Chamberlin to the complaint of George Wilkes in an action to recover damages for defamation of character. New York, W. J. Reed, 1873. (Diplomatic Pamphlets, v. 16, p. 1.) 15 pp.

CLARENCE B. BAGLEY.

THE PRESENT STATUS AND PROBABLE FUTURE OF THE INDIANS OF PUGET SOUND

The central fact to be observed in dealing with this problem is that the Indian of today is largely what the white man has made him. The relationship between the whites and the Indians in the past has done more than any other thing to bring about the present conditions of life among the Indians; and it is only as we understand this relationship of the past that we can fully grasp the present status and can catch a glimpse of the probable future or learn to apply remedies to eradicate existing evils. What progress the Indian has made, therefore, toward civilization can be traced directly to his relations with the whites, and similarly the evil conditions of life among a great number of our Indians can be traced to the same cause. It is, then, essential to take particular notice of some of these relations between the two races.

The Indians of Puget Sound were put on reservations by treaties concluded between them and Governor Isaac I. Stevens in the latter part of the fifties. These treaties established eighteen reservations, four in the Neah Bay agency, nine under the Puyallup consolidated agency and five under the Tulalip agency. The lands were set aside for the use of the Indian, to make a home for him, and to protect it from the encroachment of the whites. Under the federal act of July 4, 1884, the Indian was allowed to take advantage, without severing his tribal relations, of the Homestead Act of 1862. In 1887, Congress passed the General Allotment Act, or the so-called Dawes Act, which had for its purpose the breaking up of tribal life and establishing the Indians on private farms according to the customs of the whites. This is by far the most important piece of legislation enacted in the history of Indian affairs, because many complications have arisen under it. This law states, in part: "Every Indian born within the territorial limits of the United States to whom allotment shall have been made under the provisions of this Act, or under any law or treaty, and every Indian born within the territorial limits of the United States, who has voluntarily taken up, within said limits, his residence separate and apart from any tribe of Indians therein, and has adopted the habits of civilized life, is hereby declared to be a citizen of the United States and is entitled to all the rights, privileges and immunities of such citizens." (24 Stat. L. 390.)

It must be noted that this made such an Indian a citizen of the United States, but not necessarily a citizen of the state in which he resided. The

Constitution of the State of Washington declares that Indians not taxed shall not vote, and the penal code of the State makes it a felony to induce an Indian to vote—in spite of the fact that such class legislation and class restrictions are clearly not in harmony with the intentions of this federal law.

This Act has worked inestimable harm and has been one chief instrument of political and pecuniary graft through conferring citizenship under conditions which in no way required or evidenced the slightest fitness for citizenship. Charles M. Buchanan, Superintendent in charge of the Tulalip agency, said: "I know of instances where allotments have been made to an Indian without his application, without his knowledge, and without his desire—where in twenty-five years he has never set foot upon his alleged land, does not know where it it and does not want it. He is in possession of land that he does not want and a citizenship that he does not know, much less understand." It is difficult to attribute mere sympathy for the poor unprotected red man, as the only purpose for the enactment of such an ignorant, vicious piece of legislation. This Act, probably more than any other one thing, has determined the present-day status of our Puget Sound Indians.

Another complication which arose under this Dawes Act was the conflicting and antagonistic procedure on the part of local courts in regard to the transfer and sale of lands. Section 6 of that Act states that allotments shall be held in trust for a period of twenty-five years and the Indian allottees are to acquire citizenship at the time of the approval of such allotments. Also the inheritance or entail of allotments is made subject to the laws of descent and partition in the respective states where such allotments might be located. This provision, together with the Act of May 27, 1902 (32 Stat. L., 245), authorizing and providing for the sale of allotments of deceased allottees, has resulted in great confusion and conflicting procedure in local courts, thus making still more difficult the already complex administration of Indian affairs and impeding the progress of the Indian as a whole.

These developments of the vicious conditions arising under the Dawes Act pale into insignificance before the United States Supreme Court decision, "In the matter of Heff," 1905. This, famous or infamous, case arose in Kansas from the endeavor to enforce the federal law of 1897 relating to the sale of liquor to the Indians. A man named Heff, in Kansas, was arrested, tried and convicted for selling two quarts of beer to an Indian. He was sentenced to a fine and to a term in jail. He had the case appealed to the United States Supreme Court, and that body decided that if, under the Dawes Act of 1887, an Indian becomes a citizen of the

United States, he is entitled to all the rights, privileges and immunities pertaining to such citizenship, and hence to acquire and consume liquor at pleasure. Therefore, to that extent the prohibitory provisions of the Act of 1897, affecting such privileges, were declared to be null and void, and Heff was ordered to be released. This has been the most vicious piece of legislation in the history of Indian affairs. The worst enemy of the Indian is his overpowering love for liquor. Congress has attempted again and again to protect him from this weakness, and in the Act of 1897 it was thought that this trouble was at an end with the enacting of such an ironclad law. It practically prohibited the furnishing of liquor in any form, in any place, and under any pretense to an Indian. The year following the Heff decision saw an increase of the liquor traffic among the Indians of Puget Sound undreamed of before. It spelled almost absolute ruin and prostration for the Puyallup Indians. Other agencies report a similar striking increase in the amount of drunkenness, crime, and death, and a marked lowering of moral standards and civilization. Even some of the more intelligent men of the Tulalip tribes express their sorrow over the Heff decision and its results.

On May 8, 1906, Congress attempted to remedy these evil conditions arising under the Dawes Act by passing the Burke Act. This amends the Dawes Act to read, "At the expiration of the trust period and when the lands have been conveyed to the Indians by patent in fee, as provided in Section five of this act, then each and every allottee shall have the benefit of and be subject to the laws, both civil and criminal, of the state or territory in which they may reside; Provided, that the Secretary of the Interior, may, in his discretion, and he is hereby authorized, whenever he shall be satisfied that any Indian allottee is competent and capable of managing his or her affairs at any time to cause to be issued to such allottee a patent in fee simple, and thereafter all restrictions as to sale, incumbrance, or taxation of said land shall be removed and said land shall not be liable to the satisfaction of any debt contracted prior to the issuing of such patent." (34 Stat. L. 182). This postpones the acquisition of citizenship until the termination (instead of the initiation) of the trust period. This can, however, only apply to such allotments as have been made, or shall be made, subsequent to May 8, 1906. It cannot undo the evils resulting from the past.

It would be sad indeed if this were the only aspect of the Indian question. There is, however, a brighter side. Great progress has been made in civilization through contact with the whites. The simple, primitive, uneducated child of Nature is a thing of the past. The Puget Sound Indian of today has discarded many of his tribal customs and habits

and adopted those of the whites. Reservation reports show that nearly all have adopted the white man's dress, can speak the English language more or less, and have adopted a great many American customs, manners of living, and institutions. The ocupations of the men are practically the same as those of the whites. They engage in fishing, truck gardening, stock raising, and some work in the logging camps, lumber mills, and hop fields. They are, however, as a rule, extremely shiftless, preferring to sell their land outright and get the money rather than to clear it and make it their home. Each year, however, a few more homes are made. These are quite like those found among the whites of a similar social status.

One of the big obstacles with which the Puget Sound Indian is contending at the present time is found in the conditions of the fishing industry. Owing to the very rapid increase in importance of this industry, through the use of traps, together with concentration of capital and consolidation of the canning plants, the salmon fisheries, which are the chief means of subsistence of the coast Indians, are being rapidly monopolized. The means of obtaining a living are, therefore, becoming daily more precarious, particularly among the older Indians. The stock of fish is being depleted so rapidly that there is an increasing demand for more and larger hatcheries. The white man, with superior intelligence and more capital, is gradually crowding the unfortunate Indian out of his time-honored occupation. The same thing may be said in regard to the logging industry. The ignorant Indian, without capital, cannot compete successfully with the superior intelligence and greater wealth of his white neighbor. This makes the matter of employment and subsistence extremely precarious and forms one of the biggest problems that confronts us today in regard to Indian affairs.

Perhaps one of the best and most hopeful signs of progress is the growing interest and rapid improvement in education. Each of the Indian reservations is provided with one or more day schools and the Puyallup and Tulalip agencies have industrial training schools. These latter especially are doing very efficient and creditable work. They are fitting the new generation of Indians for a life of usefulness. Very few of the older generations can be induced to clear and farm their lands, but the time has now come when this is the only practicable thing for them to do and so the purpose of the schools should be to fit the rising generation for a life occupation. These two industrial schools are meeting this task very efficiently. The Tulalip school ground was cleared mostly by the pupils themselves. Recently the Government has provided them with a donkey engine. A large plot of ground is set out to fruit and vegetables. A sufficient amount of garden products is produced on this to supply the

entire school, and besides a large amount is sold. At the same time, valuable instruction is given to the boys in fruit raising and truck growing. In 1908 a large mill and manual training building were erected entirely by school help. Pupil self-government is used in connection with the discipline of the school. The officers include mayor, city clerk, city council, health officer, policeman and judges. The system seems to be capably managed and good results are produced.

The day schools are experiencing a great deal more difficulty. The allotments are so far apart that there are, necessarily, but few families close to the schools. The remainder of the children are compelled to come a long way. This, together with the bad, rainy climate of Puget Sound, makes the enforcement of attendance at day schools a very difficult problem. These factors make the attendance uncertain and irregular, and when the pupils do go they are often compelled to sit all day long with wet clothing. Such conditions are enough to break down the strongest constitutions. What wonder is it, then, that the death rate is high among the Indian children, who are often poorly fed, poorly clad and already predisposed. Then, too, to be efficiently administered these schools require a strong, capable, well-trained teacher, one imbued with the true missionary spirit. Such teachers are not, as a rule, found in the Indian service, and the salaries are not usually large enough to attract them into the service from outside. On the whole, however, it must be said that progress in the right direction is slowly being accomplished. Better teachers and a larger number of well-equipped schools are being supplied.

In a great many cases, it is a difficult undertaking to influence the elder people to change their customs and habits, although the rising generation do so very readily. Some progress can be noted among the old people, however. For example, over three-fourths of the families on the Lummi reservation use the English language exclusively at home, and in a great many cases the children can speak nothing but English. The Indians have given up a great many of their forms and ceremonies and superstitions. Marriage is now performed according to the customs of the whites. Licenses are obtained usually from the county officials, seldom from the agency. Each reservation has individual courts of Indian offenses, officered and administered by Indians. These, on the whole, have done very careful, conscientious and helpful work, not only in the administration of justice, but in maintaining law and order and peaceably adjusting quarrels and disputes.

The morals of the Indians of Puget Sound are as good as could reasonably be expected when we take into consideration our ignorant, un-

wholesome legislation and the fact that, as a race, laxness in this respect has been only too common. Contact with the lower class of whites has unfortunately resulted in the copying of a great many of their vices, as well as virtues. Some progress can be noted, however. They are observing the marriage tie with much more faithfulness than formerly, and where man and wife are not living together, they are divorced by due process of law.

The Heff decision has undoubtedly done much toward sending the Indian down to destruction. Since then it has been almost impossible to keep drink and the Indians apart. The Puyallup Indians have nearly all passed the trust period and become citizens, as, in fact, have a good many on the other reservations. Since that time they have lost their property, self-respect, and health to a large degree. The only thing they haven't been able to get rid of is their citizenship, which has been largely responsible for their present condition. Superintendent Buchanan reports in 1907, in speaking of the enforcement of our state laws in regard to liquor selling, "In thirteen years of life in this vicinity I have yet to see or hear of the first case of actual enforcement of any of these provisions. In six years of very vigorous prosecution I have secured remarkably few convictions in such cases, and these only on pleas of guilty, and in all of which the minimum penalty was inflicted. Indeed, the situation is so very extraordinary that one is not always sure of a conviction even when the defendant admits his guilt and pleads guilty. In one such case, which went before the federal grand jury on such a plea of guilt, the jury, with all the facts before them, and with the defendant admitting guilt and pointing out and identifying the confiscated bottles and flasks, turned the prisoner loose as innocent, even though he insisted that he was guilty. This very extraordinary event occurred in Seattle before the May, 1905, session of the Federal Grand Jury." (Page 58, Report of Indian Agents and Superintendents to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1907.) Is it any wonder, then, that liquor dealers violate the law with impunity when it is such a difficult matter to secure conviction?

In 1909, the State of Washington passed a very stringent law relating to the selling of liquor to Indians and since that time, enforcement has been somewhat stricter. This makes it a felony for anyone to sell liquor in any form, at any time, and under any pretense, to an Indian, to whom allotment has been made, while the title is held in the trust period, or to an Indian who is held under guardianship of an Indian agent or superintendent, or under the charge of the United States. This law is being much more rigidly enforced than has hitherto been the case, yet the

Indians still get the liquor. Saloon keepers in towns bordering on the reservations are wary about selling it to them, but in towns some distance from the reservations open selling still goes on. On the whole, our liquor laws are more honored in the breach than the observance.

The consumption of such a large amount of liquor in the past has, in a great many cases, absolutely destroyed the health of the Indians. Their constitutions always have been weak, subject to tuberculosis, pneumonia, and all pulmonary diseases, and when the consumption of large amounts of alcohol is added to this, little wonder is it that the death rate is high among them, and that so many weak, diseased Indian children come into the world.

In the matter of religion, the Puget Sound Indians are in an evolutionary stage. On the whole, the old form of religion, called Tamahnous, in which the evil spirit was worshipped in order to appease it, and hence not to be visited by it, has been replaced by the Christian religion, or by a mixture of the Christian and the old. The Puget Sound Indians are peculiar in one respect, viz: that they are indolent and lazy, are easily persuaded to accept and follow any belief, but are usually unwilling to make an effort to think or reason out a question. They are indolently and willingly superficial. The result of this has been that while a great many have been converted to the Christian religion, still that conversion has been very superficial in character. They have been satisfied with the content that external forms and actions would make them right with God, and secure to them a future happiness, and, at the same time, have utterly disregarded the true inner spirit of religion. Hence, they have readily taken up anything that appeals to the sensuous in their religious nature.

In 1882 or 1883, a Mud Bay Indian, named John Slocum, who had been converted to Catholicism, but who had led a rather desultory life, fell sick and apparently died. The usual death ceremonies took place. but to the great surprise of the Indians, Slocum came to life again on the second or third day after his death. He brought with him a wonderful tale. He affirmed that he had indeed died, gone up to the pearly gates and there met St. Peter, who refused him entrance on the grounds that he had led too loose a life. There was one way, however, so St. Peter informed him, by which he could yet earn his way into Paradise, and that was to go back to earth and teach his fellow Indians a new form of religion, which was to be the same as that in the white man's book, but better adapted to the needs of the Indians. Hence his return to life.

Slocum immediately began to preach his new doctrine, a religion since named "Shakerism," which has gathered together at least half of

the Indians of Puget Sound, who profess any religion at all. This is a curious mixture of the old Tamahnous religion and Protestantism and Catholicism. It is undoubtedly a decided step in advance of the old religion, since it enjoins a worship of an all-powerful, good God rather than malicious devils and evil spirits. The beliefs and ceremonies differ among different tribes, and are more nearly in harmony with the Christian religion where the missionaries have had the most influence. The influence of Catholicism is to be seen in the elaborate forms and ceremonies of worship and the cross and candle sticks on the altar. Those afflicted with a guilty conscience remain on their knees during the entire Sunday service, crossing themselves repeatedly. The songs and prayers are translations into Indian or Chinook done by the early missionaries.

The retained features of the old Tamahnous religion are to be seen largely in the conversion ceremonies and the healing of the sick—the so-called "Night Work." It is difficult for the Indians to give up their old superstitions and barbaric rites. These still remain in their minds and crop out with the more modern beliefs in their religion. To quote from an article by Edwin L. Chalcraft, a teacher in one of the Indian schools, "Every act tends to excitement. The wierd Indian chant, the dance music, the frenzied dances, the ringing of hand bells and the rubbing of the patient's body to drive out sickness or the evil spirit, as the case may be, and let in the new religion, all have a place, and are sometimes continued through the night, or until the participants become exhausted."

The introduction of this new belief among the Indians worked havoc in the churches. From the first the new religion gained a large number of converts at the expense of the Christian institution. A great many of the Christian churches have had to close their doors and go out of business, because of this keen competition. Especially among the Puyallup reservation tribes is this true. This religion has taken such a firm hold upon them that Christianity is making no progress at all at the present time. For thirty-five years, up to 1901, Rev. Myron Eells worked faithfully and perseveringly among them against innumerable obstacles, but since his death in that year the work has almost ceased. The Neah Bay agency is supplied with one Presbyterian mission, but it is struggling along, fearing to have to go out of business every day. The missionary work of the Tulalip agency is done entirely by the Catholic church, and on the whole very good results have been accomplished. Most of the reservations have churches of their own, and the priests of neighboring towns minister to their welfare. Shakerism has a very weak hold among them.

Taken altogether, this religion has had its place in helping the Indians live better lives, especially where the Bible has been faithfully taught.

Where the old Tamahnous still bears sway, and the old superstitions are still current, however, the effect has been noticeably bad, showing itself principally in unfaithfulness in the family life. As C. L. Woods, Superintendent of the Neah Bay agency, says, "The Shakers, a peculiar religious sect, are seemingly doing good, as there has been little or no law breaking by their members, and no drunkenness whatever. Their professed creed is a model of orthodoxy, and it would be bigotry to oppose their outlandish and queer manner of worship."

I think it can be safely assumed that at least assimilation, if not race fusion, between the Puget Sound Indians and the whites will take place some time not very far distant. The younger generation of Indians are showing a very marked capability of taking over our habits, customs, institutions and manner of living. Nearly all can speak and read the English language, a good many cannot speak their native tongue. They come in contact with the white children a great deal and so copy from them their games and amusements, and ultimately their ideals and ways of doing things. This is one of the most hopeful signs for the future of the race. If we can keep the Indian children interested in their school work and keep them in contact with the white children, assimiliation will quickly be brought about. The closer the contact with the better class of whites, the sooner will the Indians reach our plane of civilization, and the easier will become assimilation and fusion. Already there is quite a noticeable drift away from the reservations, and I believe the time will come, and not very long distant, when the reservations will be done away with entirely. Assimilation will go on more easily and more rapidly because of the relatively small number of Indians. There are but something less than four thousand reservation Indians at the present time around Puget Sound, and statistics show that they are just about holding their own in numbers. If any change at all, there may be a slight natural increase in population.

In early pioneer days, intermarriage of the whites and Indians was very common and no especial social stigma was attached to it; at the present time, however, intermarriage is commonly discountenanced, especially among the better classes of whites and somewhat of a social degradation goes with it. Young married couples of the Indians usually leave the reservations and go out among the whites to live. Often, however, they return to their reservations because of the poor social standing they receive among the whites, and because they long to be with their kinsmen.

On the part of the whites, two things must be insisted upon, first, a stricter enforcement of our liquor laws, and, second, a more friendly and

helpful attitude toward the Indian. We have robbed the Indian of his lands and waters by false and fair means; we have forced him to live in an atmosphere of totally different customs and ideals; it would be, therefore, far less than justice if we fail to do all we can to help him fit himself for his new life.

LEWIS H. ST. JOHN.

THE PIONEER DEAD OF 1913

In the list of departed pioneers following, record is made only of those that have come to the attention of the biographer. There were others, no doubt, but of them he had no knowledge. Those are considered pioneers who lived in the State of Washington, and who were on the Pacific Coast before 1860. The number of such who died in 1913 was greater than in any previous year. The average age, and the average number of years on the coast, were also greater. The information here presented was obtained principally from the newspapers of the day. Regret is expressed that it was not in all cases equally full and complete.

Neely, David A.—Born in 1823, died at Kent, in King county, Dec. 31st, 1912, aged 89 years. Mr. Neely came from Missouri, and in 1854 settled on the land claim in White River valley, where he lived the following almost fifty-nine years. In the Indian war of 1855-56 he was driven from home by the savages, and he at once retaliated by enlisting in the territorial military service against them. He was second lieutenant of his company, and for a time was in command, owing to the retirement of Captain Edward Lander and First Lieutenant Arthur A. Denny. He was married in 1848. His wife, 87 years of age, survives him; also five children, fourteen grandchildren, and sixteen great grandchildren. [Note.—The foregoing went to the printer too late for publication in the list of deceased 1912 pioneers, and is therefore placed here.—T. W. P.]

Montgomery, Matilda Ann—Born in Illinois, died at Meyers Falls, Jan. 2, aged 80 years. She came to Oregon in 1850, and for a number of years lived in Linn county. From there she moved to Dayton, Wash., where she remained until she went to Meyers Falls in 1906. She is survived by three daughters and two sons.

Heitman, Henry—Died at Ridgefield, Clark county, Jan. 13, aged 80 years. He came from the Eastern States in 1853. He was a farmer, and by industry and economy was enabled to acquire 1,800 acres of agricultural land. Four daughters and two sons survive him.

Darragh, John.—Born in New York State in 1830; died at Edmonds, Jan. 13, in his 83d year. He was an Oregon pioneer of 1851. He remained there and in Washington until 1883, when he returned to New York. In 1902 he came back to the Pacific and made his home in Edmonds. He participated prominently in the 1855-56 Indian war. A wife and daughter were left.

Laws, Andrew Jackson—Born in Illinois, March 13, 1833, died at the old soldiers' home at Orting, Jan. 15, aged 80 years. In 1852 he came to Clark county, Washington, where he made his home. Like most other young men of his time, he served in the Indian war, from Oct. 20, 1855, ten months, its whole period, in the western half of the territory. Mrs. Page, a daughter, of Vancouver, was left.

Newell, Therese—Born near Portland, Oregon, June 4, 1856, died at Seattle Jan. 26, aged 57 years. She was a school teacher and unmarried.

Jaggy, John—Born Jan. 14, 1829, died at Vancouver, Jan. 30, aged 84 years. He came to California in 1857, and after a few months moved to Washington Territory. He was long a leading citizen of his home community. A wife, two daughters and a son survive him.

Caldwell, R. P.—Born in Tennessee, June 15, 1834, died at Everett about Feb. 1, aged 79 years. He came to California in 1856, to Oregon in 1859, and to Washington in 1901. His wife, two daughters and two sons survive him.

Blanchet, John B.—Born in 1840, died at Vancouver, Feb. 4, aged 73 years. He came west in 1846, and lived all the following years at Vancouver. He was a nephew of Bishop Blanchet and also of Archbishop Blanchet, the two first high Catholic Church dignitaries in this state.

Livingston, David—Born in Pennsylvania, died in Seattle Feb. 5, aged 82 years. He came to Puget Sound in 1853, and thereafter made his home. His wife died in 1906. They had three children—George W., Clara and Josephine.

Boyd, Levi—Born in Ohio, September, 1812, died at Walla Walla, Feb. 6, aged a little more than 100 years. He crossed the continent in 1843, and remained in Oregon and Washington until 1861. He then went East and joined the Confederates in their effort to divide the Union. Soon after the conclusion of hostilities he returned to Walla Walla, where he continued to reside to the end of his long life. He was a bachelor.

Anderson, Andrew—Died at Walla Walla Feb. 21, aged 85 years. He was a pioneer of 1856, a farmer and a veteran of the Civil War.

Wood, Mrs. Helen R. M.—Born in Australia, died at Dungeness, March 1, aged 55 years. She came to Puget Sound when a child one year old.

Tukey, John Fossett—Born in Bangor, Me., Aug. 6, 1830, died in Jefferson county, March 1, aged 83 years. He came to the Pacific

Coast by ship in 1850, and two years later settled on a land claim on Discovery Bay, where he made his home for sixty years. He served among the volunteers in 1855. His wife died a year before him. They had no children.

Pettygrove, Benjamin Stark—Born in Portland, Oregon, Sept. 30, 1846, died at Port Townsend, March 7, aged 67 years. His father, Francis W. Pettygrove, settled on the Portland townsite several years before, and was one of the town projectors. He suggested the name and bestowed it, his partner in the enterprise favoring Boston instead. When this boy, this first white male child born there, came along, the question of sovereignty in Oregon was not settled between Great Britain and the United States, as far as known to the people of Oregon, though, as a matter of fact, it had been settled three and a half months before. A ship came in having on board a passenger named Benjamin Stark, who had a newspaper in which was the first report of the conclusion of the matter on the basis of the international boundary line on the 49th parallel. The Pettygroves were so pleased that they named their boy after this stranger. Streets in Portland are named Pettygrove and Stark. Benjamin Stark stayed there, became a prominent citizen, and represented the state in the U. S. Senate. The Pettygrove family removed to Port Townsend in 1852, and were among the founders of that city. B. S. Pettygrove lived there almost sixty-one years. After a married life of nineteen years, his wife died in 1893. They left one son.

Watson, Phoebe C.—Born in Illinois, Feb. 19, 1840, died in Chehalis, March 9, aged 73 years. She crossed the plains in 1848 with her parents, Jacob Conser and wife. She was married in 1860, and in 1872 the family went upon a farm near Chehalis. She was survived by five sons.

Sparks, Margaret I.—Born in South Carolina, died at Boisfort in March, aged 93 years. Her first husband was Wm. A. Brewer. They came to Oregon in 1853. He died in 1858. In 1860 she moved to Washington Territory, where she married John G. Sparks. She left six children.

Hardison, James W.—Born in Polk county, Oregon, in 1845, died at Wahkiakum in March, aged 68 years. His whole life was spent in Oregon and Washington. A widow and four children survive.

Gale, Joseph Marion—Born in Illinois in 1836, died at Orting, March 17, aged 77 years. He came to Oregon in 1853. He served in two Indian wars, and also the Civil War. He was a teacher and a newspaper editor.

Moore, A. C. H.—Died at North Yakima, March 29, aged 76 years. He came overland to California in 1849. From there he moved on to Oregon, and about thirty years ago came further north, to Long Beach, Wash. A widow, five daughters and two sons survive him.

Shaw, James O.—Born in Maine, died at White Salmon, March 30, aged 86 years. He came by ship to California in 1849. In 1870 he took a homestead in Klickitat county. A wife, a son and two daughters were left.

Andrews, Lyman Beach—Born in New York State, Feb. 10, 1829, died at San Diego, Cal., March 31, aged 84 years. He came to California in 1859, and in 1860 to Seattle, where his home was ever afterward. He was a prominent citizen for half a century. Mrs. Andrews died in 1908. He left one daughter and three sons.

Nelson, John M.—Born in Kentucky, April 14, 1824; died at The Dalles, Oregon, April 4. He came to California in 1847, a few years later to Oregon, and still later to Washington, his last home being at Valley, this state. He was a remarkable linguist, being able to talk with Indians of sixteen different dialects. Twenty-seven grandchildren and eight great grandchildren are his living descendants.

McKinlay, David—Born in California in 1854; died at San Francisco, April 10, aged 59 years. He came to Victoria, B. C., and from there in 1873 to Seattle, which was his home to the end. Mr. McKinlay left a valuable estate to found an orphans' home, upon the death of his surviving wife.

Fisher, Lydia Ann—Born in Oregon, Jan. 30, 1848, died near Fisher's, Clark county, April 10, aged 65 years. All her life—every hour—was spent in Oregon or Washington, the last fifteen years in this state. Three sons and a daughter were left.

Shaw, James O.—Born in Maine, died at White Salmon, April 11, aged 86 years. He was a '49er of California, but in the 1870s settled in Klickitat county, Washington. A widow and three children survive.

Gatch, Thomas Milton—Born in Ohio, Jan. 29, 1833, died at Seattle April 23, aged 80 years. He came to California in 1856, and to Washington Territory in 1859. He was a teacher in the higher branches of learning and in the higher schools of the country. He was principal of the Portland Academy, twice president of Willamette University, president of the University of Oregon, and president of the University of Washington. Two daughters and one son survive him.

Rose, Alfred Percy—Born in Pennsylvania, died at Metaline, May 1, aged 76 years. He came to California in 1858, and later lived in every state and territory west of the Rocky Mountains, and Mexico and British Columbia besides. A widow, a son and a daughter survive him.

Christ, Philip—Born in Germany, May 24, 1824; died at Vancouver, Wash., May 6, aged 89 years. As a member of Company L, First U. S. Artillery, he came by ship to the Columbia River in 1849, and under Major Hathaway, was one of the men who established Fort Vancouver, or Vancouver Barracks. Upon discharge he settled there, and there spent the last sixty-four years of his life. Upon the same ship came another company—M, Captain Hill—which was sent to Puget Sound, and established Fort Steilacoom, the same year, these two being the first military posts in the State of Washington.

Goodridge, Gardner—Born in Maine, Feb. 28, 1833; died at Florence, May 10, aged 80 years. He came to California in 1853, to British Columbia in 1858, and thence to Washington after a short stay. He left four children.

Masterson, James—Died in Seattle, May 24. He came to Oregon in 1851, and to Washington in 1873. He left three children.

Faucett, Rachel A.—Died at Auburn, May 27, aged 88 years. She came from Missouri to Washington in 1854. The family lived ten years in Pierce county and forty-nine years in King. She left three daughters, one son, fourteen grandchildren and thirteen great grandchildren.

Cloquet, August—Died June 14, at Toledo, aged 87 years. He came to Washington in 1851. For sixty years he dwelt in Lewis county. He left seven children.

Little, Daniel—Born in Maine, died at Castle Rock, June 29. He came to Washington in 1852, and has resided ever since in Cowlitz county. Six children were left.

Jaggy, Margaret Wintler—Born in Switzerland, died at Vancouver, July 4, aged 88 years. She came to the United States in 1852, and to Washington Territory in 1857. For thirty-five consecutive years she was treasurer of the Vancouver Methodist Church. Mr. Jaggy died Jan. 30, 1913. They left three children.

Whitworth, James Edward—Died in Seattle, July 11, aged 72 years. He came to Oregon in 1853 and to Washington in 1854. Married in 1869, his wife died several years ago. His descendants include ten children and twenty-one grandchildren.

Loomis, Louis Alfred—Born in New York State, Oct. 9, 1830, died at Loomis Station, Pacific county, July 19, aged 83 years. He was

a pioneer of 1852. He served among the Oregon volunteers in the Indian war of 1855-56. Five children were left.

Rhoades, L. H.—Born in Illinois in 1844, died at Bay Center, July 14, aged 69 years. He came to Oregon in 1850, and to Washington in 1862. Probably no couple in the state were married younger than Mr. and Mrs. Rhoades, he being 16 years and she 15 years old in 1860 when united. . She and ten children were left.

Latham, John—Born in England, June 22, 1837, died at Tacoma August 6, aged 77 years. He came to Oregon in 1856, and to Washington in 1860. He left a wife, five children and fourteen grandchildren.

Haley, John—Born in New York in 1840, died at Ellensburg, August 20, aged 73 years. He came to California in 1856, and to Washington in 1879.

Gaillac, Malinda—Born in Missouri in 1837, died at Olympia August 22, aged 76 years. She came with her parents (Packwoods) to Washington in 1845. Nine sons and daughters were left.

Russell, D. L.—Born in Virginia, died at Vancouver, Aug. 25, aged 78 years. He came to California in 1849. He engaged in the Civil War. In 1864 he came to Washington Territory. A wife and four children were left.

Bersch, Mary—Born in Switzerland, Dec. 15, 1832, died in Vancouver, August 27, aged 80 years. Mrs. Bersch came to the United States in 1851 and to Washington in 1853. Her living descendants included six children, forty grandchildren and eight great grandchildren.

Scheule, Josephine—Born at Vancouver, died at Portland, Ore., Aug. 27, aged 60 years. She was a widow, but had three children.

Dougherty, Thomas A.—Born in Pierce county, Washington, Jan. 3, 1853, died in Seattle Aug. 28, aged 61 years. His wife—born in 1853 and who came to Washington in 1870—died three weeks before him. Mr. Doughter's father, Wm. P. Dougherty, came to Oregon in 1843, and his mother, Mary Chambers, in 1845, both coming to Pierce county before 1850. His mother, a brother and a sister survive him.

Freeman, Rosina—Died in Seattle, Sept. 5, aged 83 years. She was the wife of Thomas P. Freeman, who came to California from Pennsylvania in 1849. She followed in 1850. They removed to Seattle in 1873. They were colored people. He died about twelve years ago. A daughter is all that is left of their family.

Krumm, John—Born in Germany, died at Kent, Sept. 6, aged 86 years. Mr. Krumm came from Ohio to California in 1849, and ten

years later moved on to Washington, settling in White River valley. He left a wife, two sons, two daughters and three grandchildren.

Phelps, Susan E.—Died in Seattle, Sept. 22, aged 81 years. She came to California in 1849, and to Washington in 1889. One daughter was her only descendant.

Clark, Elizabeth Frances—Born in Missouri, died in Seattle, Sept. 26, aged 72 years. She came to Oregon in 1853, and to Washington in 1860. She left eight daughters and two sons, besides sisters, brothers and other relatives.

Walker, Cyrus—Born in Maine, died at San Mateo, Cal., Oct. 1, aged 86 years. He came to California in 1849, and to Washington Territory in 1853. He was identified as an employee with Messrs. Pope, Talbot and Keller in the location and erection of the saw mills that have been operating at Port Gamble for the last sixty years. When Keller retired Walker took his place as the Puget Sound head, and for almost half a century so remained. Under him the company acquired other saw mills at Utslady and Port Ludlow, timber lands, ships and other properties. The company in its early days built a steamer which it called the Cyrus Walker, and which had a longer existence on Puget Sound than any other craft. Mr. Walker acquired large personal properties, and became one of the wealthiest men in the state. He left a wife and son.

Bagley, Susannah Rogers—Born in Massachusetts, May 8, 1819, died at Seattle, Oct. 11, aged 94 years. Married in 1840 to Daniel Bagley, who died in 1905, she and he removed to Illinois, where they remained until 1852, when they came to Oregon. In 1860 they moved on to the north, to Washington, from Salem to Seattle. He was chiefly instrumental in building the second chruch in the city—the Methodest Protestant—and of the location and building of the Territorial University in 1861. A son, the well known Clarence B. Bagley, survives them.

Greenlaw, Wilhelmina—Born in Pierce county, died at Tacoma Oct. 18, aged 59 years. She was the daughter of Frederick Meyer, one of the soldiers under Captain Hill, who established Fort Steilacoom in 1849. She left six sons and four daughters.

Charlton, Charles Alexander—Born in Virginia, March 23, 1829, died at Colville, Oct. 8, aged 85 years. He came to Oregon in 1850, where he remained until his removal to Washington, a few years ago. He, like the majority of the other men of the time, served in the Indian War of 1855-'56. His wife remains.

Williamson, John R.—Born in New York State, Feb. 16, 1827, died at Seattle, Oct. 19, aged 87 years. He came to California in 1851;

and to Washington in 1853, with Cyrus Walker and the others who were here to build a saw mill at Port Gamble. There he was employed for several years, and a similar time at Seabeck in a like work, when, in 1863, he joined with others in a saw mill enterprise at Freeport, now Seattle. He was an engineer, a machinist, an iron founder—in fact, a master mechanic. He left a son and a daughter.

Miller, Edward—Born at Syracuse, N. Y., May 25, 1832, died at Shelton, Oct. 15, aged 81 years. He was a farmer, a trader, an early day Puget Sound navigator. A widow, two daughters and a son were left.

Cook, James W.—Born Aug. 22, 1833; died in Portland, Oregon, Oct. 25, aged 80 years. He came to Portland from Chicago in 1855. He was one of the first men to go into the salmon canning business, more than forty years ago. He had canneries on the Columbia river and at Blaine and Port Townsend on Puget Sound. His surviving relatives include his wife and two daughters.

Stangroom, Marc Lareviere—Born in ngland, May 22, 1832; died at Bellingham, Oct. 25, aged 81 years. He came to California in 1855, and to Bellingham in 1888. A son and two daughters were left.

Stevens, Margaret L.—Born at Newport, R. I., in 1816; died at Boston, Nov. 4, aged 97 years. Mrs. Stevens was the widow of Isaac Ingalls Stevens, the first Governor of Washington Territory, 1853 to 1857, and who, as a Union General, was killed at the Battle of Chantilly, Sept. 1, 1862. She came to Washington Territory in 1854, and the house that was built for her sixty years ago still stands in Olympia, one of the oldest buildings in the state. She was in Washington City during his Congressional and later military careers, but returned to the Territory in 1867, with her then grown children. After some years the family removed to Boston. A son, two daughters, five grandchildren and two great grandchildren are her living descendants.

Bean, Sarah L.—Born at McMinnville, Oregon, Oct. 6, 1851; died at Seattle, Nov. 9, aged 62 years. She came to Washington in 1875. Her parents, Mr. and Mrs. J. R. Bean, came to Oregon in 1845. Miss Bean's mother and sister survive her.

Titus, Eliza—At Lacenter, Clark County, Nov. 14, Mrs. Eliza Titus died. She crossed the plains with her parents, named Rice, who took a donation claim sixty years ago. Eliza was twice married, first to John S. Pollock, and in 1875 to M. Titus. She left four children by the first marriage.

Prosch, Charles—Born in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, June 25, 1820; died in Seattle, Nov. 22, in the 94th year of his age. He came to California in 1853, and to Washington Territory in 1858. He published a newspaper at Steilacoom and later one at Olympia, during the first fourteen years of his residence in Washington. His was the first daily paper in Olympia. He was also engaged in the first newspaper published in Tacoma. He was a member and officer in four churches in Olympia, Tacoma and Seattle, two of which, in 1873 and 1889, he assisted in organizing. He was also more or less engaged in many other enterprises and works of pioneer days. He left a son, six grandchildren, and two great grandchildren.

Ross, Eliza Jane—Born in Illinois, Dec. 10, 1830; died at Puyallup, Nov. 26, aged 83 years. She and her husband, Darius Mead Ross, came to Oregon in 1851, and lived in that state for twelve years. In 1863 they came to Washington, and made their home on a farm in Puyallup Valley. Two sons, two daughters, nineteen grandchildren and four great grandchildren survive her.

Spooner, Thomas J.—Born in Kentucy, May 18, 1836; died near Portland, Oregon, Nov. 30, aged 77 years. He came to Oregon in 1859. In 1882 he moved to Tacoma, but in 1893 went back to Oregon. He left a widow and four sons.

Miller, Eva L.—Born in California in 1859, died at Seattle, Dec. 5, aged 54 years. She came to Seattle in 1882 as the wife of Dr. P. B. M. Miller. A son and three stepdaughters were left.

Gendron, Eliza—Born at Nespilem, Washington, in 1821; died at Marcus, Washington, Dec. 19, aged 92 years. Her father was one of the early Pacific Coast trappers and fur traders. Her mother was an Indian woman. All her own life was spent in this state, a longer time than that of any other white or half white person known. She married Alexander Gendron in 1844, her husband being a Hudson Bay Company employee. She was the mother of fourteen children, grandmother of fifty-two and great grandmother of twenty-one.

Brown, Mrs. Chandler—Born in Thurston County, Washington, Sept. 18, 1855; died at Centralia, Dec. 20, aged 58 years. She was the daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Joseph Axtell, immigrants of 1852.

Newhall, William—Died in New York, Dec. 19, aged 84 years. Deceased was a well-known Pacific Coast navigator, coming around the Horn first in 1847. The barkentine Amelia was one of his latest and longest commands. He was a Son of the American Revolution, a Pioneer

and a Mason, all at Seattle. Two daughters and a son are left, in addition to relatives slightly more remote.

Parker, Gilmore Hays—Born at Sacramento, California, in 1859; died in Seattle, Dec. 29, aged 54 years. He was the son of Capt. John G. Parker, who came to Puget Sound more than sixty years ago, and was one of the first steamboat men and first merchants of these parts. The son followed the father into the steamboat business. He was master of several steamers, including the T. J. Potter, Bailey Gatzert, Greyhound, City of Everett and Telegraph. His ancestors on the mother's side were the well-known Hays family, than whom none were more prominent in Washington Territory from fifty to sixty years ago. Captain Parker left a mother, two sisters and two brothers. THOMAS W. PROSCH.

AMERICAN AND BRITISH TREATMENT OF THE INDIANS IN THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST

A series of large mining "rushes" during the decade following 1858 brought an energetic population into the interior of the old Oregon country. Prosperous communities sprang up in eastern Oregon and Washington. Idaho, Montana, and British Columbia came into being. But the populating of these regions produced acute problems with regard to the Indians, and the point of view of this article is that of attempting to compare the British and American methods of attacking these problems.

Let us turn our attention first to conditions and developments on the American side.

To the usual causes of antagonism between the native and the white man there was added in the interior of the Pacific northwest the impossibility of any retreat of the former; for the frontier was closing in from both directions. "An unprogressive being * * * *, quite well satisfied with the present, unstimulated by the past, non-apprehensive of the future" was here brought face to face with one "in all things the reverse, a restless mortal dissatisfied with the present, with a history pointing upwards, apprehensive of the future and always striving for individual and social betterment."[1] "Now that we propose to invade these mountain solitudes," wrote the builder of the Mullan Road, "to wrest from their hidden wealth, where under heavens can the Indian go?"[2]

The answer seemed patent enough to a good many thoughtful Westerners, who were not cruel men. "The experience of those who have seen most of the Indians," said the Oregonian, "has been neither flattering to the efforts of the Government, nor consoling to the hopes of the true Christian philanthropist; but the purposes of the red man's creation in the economy of nature are well nigh accomplished, and no human hand can avert his early extermination from the face of the North American Continent. Silently but irresistibly the purposes of Providence take their way through the ages, and across the line of their march treaties would seem but shreds, and the plans of men on the tide of history but waifs upon the sea."[3] A belief in such predestination, however exculpatory for white men, would scarcely help in the working out of any system looking toward the upraising of the Indians. Mullan's type of predestination was more blunt: "The Indian," he said, "is destined to disappear before the white man, and the only question is, how it may best

1Davenport, T. W., Recollections of an Indian Agent, Quar. Or. His. Soc., Vol. VIII, No. 4, Dec., 1907, p. 353.
2Mullan—Report on Military Road, p. 52.

be done, and his disappearance from our midst tempered with those elements calculated to produce to himself the least amount of suffering, and to us the least amount of cost."[4]

The writer in the Oregonian, quoted above, held that it was a fundamental error in the treatment of Indians to acknowledge their rights to the soil and to make treaties with them as if they were nations. Governor Ashley, of Montana, also declared that treaty-making with Indians ought to cease.[5] To the same effect C. H. Hale, Superintendent of Indian affairs in Washington Territory, wrote as follows: "I am well satisfied that a radical change should be made in our mode of treatment towards the Indians. I do not consider the language as any too strong when I say, that for us to negotiate treaties with them as it is usually done is little better than a farce. We profess by such an act to recognize their equality in status and in power, and to clothe them with a national existence that does not at all pertain to them. Instead of thus exalting them in mere form, they should be treated as they really are, the wards of the government."[5½]

The rougher element among the whites, who were in contact with the Indians, bothered themselves not at all concerning theories or treaties and seldom showed towards Indians even ordinary human feeling. "A d—d Indian," as was the usual expression, got no consideration at their hands. Indians were killed by desperadoes in Montana with despicable wantoness.[6] A farmer Indian of the Walla Walla tribe had taken some wheat to mill at Walla Walla and had hitched his horses to his wagon to feed, when a gambler came from a nearby saloon and took one of the horses. The owner could not recover it, because men feared to testify against one of the roughs; but the Indian was reimbursed by employes of the Umatilla agency.[7] In southern Idaho Indian women and children were killed in attacks made by volunteer soldiers, and it was charged that many Indian women were violated.[8] In the former case, however, it was claimed that the Indian women fought as hard as the men and that they were indistinguishable from the men in a melee.

It is fair to remember, in judging of atrocities committed by whites, that not a few of the frontiersmen were inflamed by memories of horrid deeds committed by Indians upon relatives and friends.[9] We of the

[3]Id., p. 79.
[4]Id., p. 52.
[5]Con. His. Soc. Mont., Vol. VI, p. 284.
[5½]Rpt. Com. Indian Affairs, 1863, p. 442.
[6]Langford, Vigilante Days and Ways, Vol. I, pp. 250 & 318.
[7]Recollections of an Indian Agent. Or. His. Quar. Vol. VIII, No. 1, March, 1907, p. 389.
[8]The Pioneer Reminiscences of George Collier Robbins. Pacific Monthly, Vol. 26, No. 2, Aug., 1911, pp. 288-9.
[9]An incident of this nature is related in Hailey, History of Idaho, p. 58.

present generation, indeed, can scarcely understand how ingrained was racial hatred in the white frontiersman of that day. "From the cradle up he was the recipient of folk lore which placed the Indian as his hereditary and implacable enemy. To the childish request, 'Grandma, tell me a story, it was bear or Indian, ghost stories being too tame for frontier life, and that the bear and Indian did not stand upon the same plane as objects to be exterminated, seldom entered into the thoughts of the grandmother or the little one soon to take part in the conquest of the wilderness. * * * * Granny might bring tears to the eyes of her little auditors by telling how the bear cubs moaned over their dead mother, but no tears flowed for the Indian children made destitute by this perpetual conflict."[10] On the other hand, there might have been in an early day a measure of truth in the assertion that murder is merit; scalps enviable trophies; plunder legitimate; the abduction of women and their violation, a desirable achievement."[11]

In judging of Indian populations, however, and of the relations of whites to them, discriminations need to be made. There were within tribes bad Indians and good Indians, just as there were bad whites and good whites; and it was generally the bad men on both sides that made trouble. Moreover, there was a great difference between such comparatively well ordered tribes as the Coeur d'Alenes or the Nez Perces and the scattered banditti of southern Idaho and south-eastern Oregon. This difference is dwelt upon in a report of the Committee on Indian Affairs of the Idaho Legislature, which was made in 1866. In the northern portion of the Territory, the report said, "the Nez Perces, Coeur d'Alenes, Pend d'Oreilles, etc., have been for a long time gradually adopting the pursuits of peace and habits of civilization, under good influences, acquired property and permanent habitations and rely for surer subsistence upon the cultivation of the soil and the raising of stock. But in South Idaho, throughout that portion of the Territory south of Snake River, your committee regret to say, a far different condition of affairs has existed from the organization of the Territory, and still continues. The scattered clans in all this region, known as the Shoshones or Snakes, inhabit a country for the most part destitute of timber and game, spreading into wide deserts, and affording them secure retreats in rugged mountains and deep canyons. Never having any fixed habitations, they acquire no property except by plunder, and hold none except for temporary subsistence and plunder. So, far from cultivating the soil, or any arts of peace, they have to a great extent ceased to depend for food upon

[10]Recollections of an Indian Agent, Quar. Or. His. Soc., Vol. VIII., No. 4. Dec., 1907, p. 360.

[11]The Montana Post, Feb. 4, 1865.

X 708781

fish, grass seeds, crickets, roots, etc., and rely upon what they seize by murder and robbery on the public highways and frontier settlements. * * * * * They have no recognized head, but simply leaders of clans, and know nothing of treaty obligations. Nothing, therefore, but vigorous war, that will push them to extremeties of starvation or extermination, can ever bring peace to our borders and security to our highways."[12]

If one tries to imagine himself in the conditions that then existed in southern Idaho, he will, perhaps, better understand why even humane people could have had stern and cruel opinions with regard to the treatment of some classes of Indians. There was no danger of attack upon settlements of any size; there was, in fact, no declared war. But stock was constantly being stolen, lone men murdered, and pack trains attacked. If a few men pursued the Indians, the latter would turn and fight like fiends, and with the advantage of knowledge of the country. To dwellers in secure homes, these enumerations may appear not particularly significant, but to one with understanding of frontier conditions they mean much. If travellers, for example, had their animals stolen, it meant all the discomfort and danger of being left afoot in a country of great distances. If a rancher had his stock run off, it meant temporary impoverishment and disablement. For white men to steal horses was quite generally recognized as a capital crime; why, then, compunction for Indians? Men, moreover, who looked down upon the mutilated remains of comrades, cut off in the unceasing assassinations, were very likely to vow vengeance upon the whole murderous race. Finally, there were wider considerations affecting the whole community; Indian attacks deterred packers, freighters, and stage owners, thereby raising freights, delaying mails, making supplies more scarce and costly, impeding immigration, and hindering the investment of capital,—in a word, checking prosperity in a way to which no civilized community would submit.

The men who went out to find and to kill Indians who were thus damaging the communities, were not always nice men; but they often showed self-denial in leaving good-paying employments, and they endured great privations and did a necessary work for civilization.[13] The character of the United States troops, likewise, who served in these regions during the Civil War was sometimes questionable; but frontier communities were justifiably grateful to men like those of General Conner's command, many of whom in the Bear River expedition endured freezing,

[12]Journals of the Council and House of Representatives of Idaho Territory, 4th session, 1866-7, pp. 343-4.

[13]For different views of one expedition, contrast the account of the expedition led by Jef Standifer in Hailey's Idaho, pp. 49-60, with that in the Pioneer Reminiscences of George Collier Robbins, Pacific Monthly, Vol. 26, No. 2, Aug., 1911, pp. 188-9.

wounds, and death in corraling and fighting a large band of predatory Indians.[14]

The exasperation of the southern Idaho communities, under continual Indian harassment, became extreme. This was especially true in Owyhee. A meeting of citizens offered rewards for scalps; one hundred dollars for that of a buck, fifty dollars for that of a squaw and twenty-five dollars for "everything in the shape of an Indian under ten."[15] When fifty-five Indians were reported killed in Humboldt, the local paper in Owyhee rejoiced that these were made "permanently friendly"; the next item, in contrast, is an announcement of a Christmas Festival for the Sunday School children at the Union Church, at which there were to be an address, songs by the children, and distribution of gifts.[16] The month previous, on report of seventy Indians being killed and scalped in Nevada, the same paper burst out with,—"Here's seventy more reasons for those safely-located, chicken-hearted, high-toned-treaty-moral suasion philanthropists to ignorantly wail about, and we're glad of it."[17] Since it was so extremely difficult to catch these Indian marauders, a novel proposal was advanced, possibly not in real earnest: "If some Christian gentlemen will furnish a few bales of blankets from a small-pox hospital, well inoculated," the *Avalanche* announced, "we will be distributing agent, and see that no Indian is without a blanket. That kind of peace is better than treaties." "These ideas suit us exactly," commented the *Idaho World*.[18]

In the case of Indians such as these in southern Idaho, the reservation system as yet was impossible; but for the more amenable Indians, who lived farther to the west and north, this system seemed not only possible, but necessary. For the mining advance was sweeping away the native means of subsistence. Game was receding into the more remote localities, and the camas and cous grounds were being continually devastated by the hogs of settlers. The fish supply, to be sure, still remained, but the location of the fisheries on the streams along which most of the travel proceeded made necessary a contact with whites which brought evil results to the Indians. It was fortunate, therefore, that arrangements for the establishment of reservations were well under way, when the mining advance began. For the Indians east of the Cascades the treaties of 1855 (ratified in 1859) provided five reservations, each the size of a

14General Conner's men marched several days in extremely cold weather, in order to catch and surprise these Indians. Of the soldiers in this expedition 15 were killed, 53 wounded, and 75 more or less seriously frozen. An account may be found in Langford, Vigilante Days and Ways, pp. 337-351.

15The Idaho World, Feb. 24, 1866.

16Owyhee Avalanche, Dec. 16, 1865.

17Id., Nov. 11, 1865.

18The Idaho World, Jan. 27, 1866.

large county. These were the Yakima, the Warm Springs, the Umatilla, the Nez Perces and the Flathead. On all of these reservations agents were to be stationed, mills were to be erected, farming tools furnished, and schools and teachers provided. The policy itself was conceived on generous, humane, and enlightened principles, and it is doubtful if, under the circumstances, a better could have been devised. But the test came in administration; the difficulties and weaknesses, as the system worked out, proved to be many and formidable.

Among the first of these obstacles to become apparent was the natural unfitness of the Indian for civilized life.

It was always a difficult task for a white settler in a new country to get a start in the cultivation of the soil. He had to be able to gain support in some manner while he was building his house, breaking up the soil, and waiting for his crops to mature. Tools were generally scarce and dear, and many shifts and ingenious devices had to be employed. To be sure, the American frontiersman had become so expert in this work, that he went at it with comparative ease; but how difficult such work is for the untrained white man may be seen today in the case of Englishmen coming direct from the old country to western Canada.[19]

Much more difficult it was, then, for the Indians. The ordinary Indian was very poor, ignorant, and conservative. A few, it was true, had large herds of ponies, but the average Indian might have two or three, and these worthless for the stern work of breaking prairie sod. The shrewd Indians who owned largs herds, moreover, could see no reason for raising crops when stock-raising paid better and was vastly easier and more agreeable. And this was the more true when, as on the Umatilla reservation, wheat had to be hauled long distances to be ground. Furthermore, it was not at all the proper thing for a common Indian to begin a new sort of enterprise without the consent and example of his chief. Plowing, and like work, again, was for the Indian inexpressibly awkward and hard to learn, and, moreover, contrary to his ideas and to the ideas of his women of what a man ought to do. It was entirely natural that he should prefer to such drudgery, the sport of hunting and fishing and moving aorund. It was not his habit to stay in one place, for when the camas was ripe he needed to be near the grounds where it grew, and when the salmon were running it was necessary to be at the fisheries. Moreover, it was not sanitary for those Indians with their tepee habits to dwell long in one place; when Indians were forced to do so, filth

[19]The Canadian Pacific Railway has a special plan for providing for such settlers, by itself building houses and breaking land. It is a well-known fact in Western Canada that new emigrants from the old country find it much more difficult to get a start than do Americans or people from Eastern Canada. This fact was recently called to my attention, on a visit to Alberta, by an English farmer of several years' experience.

brought disease and death. So, it was a hard, long task [the white man had been at it for thousands of years], this task of settling down to the orderliness and laboriousness and anxiety of civilized ways,—certainly a task not to be done in a year or decade, according to the swiftness and impatience of Americans. Under the most favoring conditions it was a task that demanded time for slow and painful growth.[20]

The conditions were not the most favorable.

In the first place the Government that was finally responsible was far away, at its best worked slowly, and was now handicapped by an absorbing and expensive war. A new party, moreover, was in power, and new men were at work. The financial problem, which this new party had to face, was stringent; it was not to be wondered at, therefore, that funds indispensable to the right working of the reservation system reached their destinations tardily. On September 25, 1861, for example, only a portion of the funds appropriated for the Oregon superintendency in 1860 had arrived, and the remainder had been remitted so far behind time as seriously to impair efficiency.[21] Agent Bancroft, and some of his employes, in two years received pay for only one quarter.[22] Moreover, when funds did arrive for the different agencies, they were in checks, which were hard to cash and reckoned on a legal tender basis, while the entire business of the Coast was on a gold basis. It was, consequently, very difficult to secure and retain efficient employes.[23] Native employes also, in particular, wanted their pay promptly on doing their work and felt aggrieved if they did not get it. Nor could the business of the Department be economically conducted; merchants naturally asked higher prices for goods when paid for in vouchers. The practice by agents of issuing vouchers itself was a most pernicious and corrupting one, but it was the only way in which the agency business could at times be carried on at all. Goods which were bought were frequently long delayed for lack of cash for transportation, or money was borrowed for transportation at the high rates of interest which prevailed on the Coast.[24] Goods of all sorts solemnly promised to the Indians, and improvements in the shape of mills, etc., were delayed for months and years; it was natural, therefore, for the Indians to feel that the Great Father was not particular about keeping his engagements, and that they in turn need not be particular about keeping theirs.

Furthermore, the Government did not provide adequate protection

20I am indebted for a number of the ideas and facts expressel in this paragraph to Recollections of an Indian Agent, Quar. Or. His. Soc., Vol. VIII, No. I, March, 1907, pp. 12-18.

21Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1861, p. 160.

22Id., 1862, p. 419.

23Id., 1863, p. 52.

24Id., 1861, p. 160.

for Indians who were on reservations. We have noticed before how the Nez Perces reservation was invaded by miners in defiance of treaty obligations. A still more conspicuous example of the failure to provide protection occurred at the Warm Springs reservation, where repeated raids of the Snakes terrorized and impoverished the agency Indians and discouraged them from attempting the cultivation of the soil. The Snakes on one occasion killed or captured many women and children, drove off the cattle and horses, both of the Indians and the Government, compelled the employes to flee for their lives, and plundered the agency. Troops pursued them without effect; and, moreover, hardly had the pursuers returned, when another raid took the remainder of the stock.[25]

No feature of the reservation system was the cause of so much dissatisfaction to Indians, agents, and superintendents as was the payment of annuities. Not a few of the Indians of some tribes—notably of the Nez Perces—were men of self-respect and shrewdness, who felt insulted at being offered gewgaws and calico.[26] Calico and loss of land became connected in the Indian mind.[27] Among the Yakimas it was noted that there was great reluctance shown by many at receiving annuities. A reported speech by Qui-tal-i-can, a Yakima Indian, on the occasion of distribution of annuities at the Yakima agency, illustrates the attitude of independence held by some Indians: "The white men propose to bring all Indians to one land. Not good. Like driving horses into a corral. Suppose Indians went to Boston and told all the Bostons to go to one place. Would it be well? I am a poor man, but I will not say to the Agent, I am a dog. The Great Spirit will take care of us. He will always cause the grass to grow and the water to run. I am somewhat ashamed to be here today. My land is not to be sold for a few blankets and a few yards of cloth."[28] The Indians in general, moreover, quite rapidly learned to prefer that which was substantial to that which was trashy.

But the goods which they received were ill adapted to their needs, since these goods were not sent in accordance with their own expressed desires, nor according to the requisition of the agents. At the Umatilla reservation, when Mr. Davenport distributed the annuities, the total amount of goods had a "pretty fair appearance"; but for 91 men there were provided 59 flannel shirts, 22 coats, 23 pants, 51 wool hats, 49 caps, and 65 pairs of brogans, and there were 122½ pairs of blankets for the total of 324 persons.[29] Many of the articles received by the

[25]Report Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1860, pp. 173-761.
[26]Rpt. Com. Ind. Affairs, 1862, p. 397.
[27]The Weekly Oregonian, Sept. 7, 1861.
[28]San Francisco Daily Bulletin, July 24, 1862.
[29]Recollections of an Indian Agent, Quar. Oregon His. Soc., Vol. VIII, No. 2, June, 1907, p. 108.

fishing Indians of the Sound country were those suitable to the more agricultural Indians of the interior,—consisting of "pitchforks, sickles, scythes without snaiths, frying pans, and other loose ends of New York stores."[30] It was not to be wondered at that the Indians traded off or gambled away these goods. Besides lack of suitability, there was no telling when the goods would arrive for distribution, and in consequence the Indians might have to go without needed clothing in winter time: "Really, the worst part of the annuity business was the uncertainty as to what kind of goods would be furnished, and at what time, if at all."[31]

It was held by agents and superintendents that this sort of expenditure was in itself not wise, since it tended to pauperism and indolence. It would have been better, they said, to expend the money for improvements such as would help the Indians to become self-supporting,—in particular for the planting of orchards,—or to pay the Indians for doing work, rather than to give them articles outright. At any rate, it was urged, annuities ought not to be issued to all of each tribe, but only to such as stayed on the reservation and showed inclination for work and progress.[32]

The reason why there was so much mal-adjustment, so it was universally claimed by superintendents and agents, was that the annuity goods were purchased on the Atlantic coast. A newspaper correspondent said that the fault lay with the "Great Father in New York who annually gets contracts for furnishing things to poor Lo."[33] So important does this aspect of the annuity problem seem, that I quote at some length from the annual reports of three superintendents. Edward R. Geary reported in 1860 from the Oregon Superintendency as follows:

"Reference to the several lately ratified treaties made with the Indians in the interior of Washington and Oregon, shows that the chief objects to which the large sums embraced in the first payment for their lands ceded to the United States are applicable, are such as 'providing for their removal to the reservations;' 'breaking up and fencing farms;' 'building houses;' 'supplying provisions and a suitable outfit,' etc.

"The aggregate amount of these first payments, to be expended for such objects as above specified, under the five treaties with the Indians east of the Cascade mountains, and appropriated by Congress at its last session, is $231,900. Of this, the sum of $111,000 was expended in the purchase of drygoods, groceries and hardware on the Atlantic side. This expenditure does not appear to be in accordance with the spirit and

[30]Report of Henry A. Webster, Rpt. Com. Ind. Af., 1862, p. 407.
[31]T. W. Davenport, Recollections of an Indian Agent, Quar. Or. His. Soc., Vol. VIII, No. 2, June, 1907, p. 108.
[32]Rpt. Com. Ind. Af., 1863, p. 459.
[33]San Francisco Daily Bulletin, Jan. 28, 1864.

intent of these treaties; nor does it meet the just expectations of the Indians."

"The whole amount appropriated for first payment of annuities to the Indians, embraced in four treaties, in Washington Territory, west of the mountains, is $26,500; of which the entire amount has been expended in the same market as above.

"Some of the dry goods are not adapted to the condition and habits of the Indians on this side of the Rocky Mountains, and one-half the amount would have sufficed for their present wants.

"Suitable goods of the best quality can be purchased in this market at prices ranging but little above those paid for similar articles in New York. Thus the freight might have been saved, and the risk and exposure avoided, by which many articles have been damaged in the transportation. * * * *"[34]

The successor to Mr. Geary, William H. Rector, wrote as follows in 1861 to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs at Washington:

"Your attention has been heretofore called by my predecessor to the impropriety of disbursing in the Atlantic States the appropriations made by Congress for beneficial objects. This course has been pursued ever since the ratification of the treaties, and still continues to be faithfully observed, notwithstanding the objections and remonstrances of the superintendents and agents thereto.

"The articles forwarded have invariably failed to give satisfaction to the Indians. They are of inferior quality, unsuited to their wants or tastes. Besides, it consumes the entire annuity fund for 'beneficial objects,' and a large portion of the 'incidental fund' to transport these articles to the place of distribution. No good can possibly result from such a course, but, on the contrary, great loss. Better articles can be obtained in this market at a less price, and such as are adapted to their wants. This fund should be husbanded and disbursed for objects calculated to benefit the Indians, and not in such transparent trash as has usually been received.

"One-half the amount, judiciously invested in the purchase of articles actually required, suited to their tastes, and applicable to their wants, would render more satisfaction, and would have a greater tendency to promote their well-being and advance them in civilization than the whole amount expended in the manner which it is.

"The policy adopted at present only tends to embarrass the operations of the agent, and create in the Indian's mind the impression that

[34]Rpt. Com. Ind. Af., 1860, p. 185.

there is a deliberate intention on the part of the government to defraud them of their lands."[35]

Again, C. H. Hale, at the head of the Washington Superintendency, reported in 1862 as follows:

"The attention of the department has so often been called, both by agents and former superintendents, to the mistaken policy which has so long obtained in the payment of annuities, that I forbear to dwell upon the subject, being well satisfied that if the abundant evidence which has heretofore been furnished, and forcible arguments which have been employed, have not convinced the department of the folly and injustice, not to say the fraud of the practice, it is useless and vain for me to attempt it." Mr. Hale then advises that annuities be paid only to Indians willing to reside at the reservations and as incentives and aids to work; clothing might be furnished only for the aged or infirm or children attending school. "Whatever may be furnished in this way," he continues, "should be selected with the greatest care, and with due reference to its intended application. Any article needed, for all the purposes specified, can be obtained on this coast at rates equally favorable as in the Atlantic cities; thus saving the very large expenditures which have heretofore been made in the way of freights."[36]

The local superintendents and agents, of course, might have been in part influenced by desire to benefit the section in which they were working, and, perhaps, by the design to get expenditures more completely into their own hands; and the Government, on the other hand, may have had good reasons for purchasing in New York. But the unanimity and earnestness of the local officials indicate here a real and grave source of trouble.

We come now to the important question as to how far the local officials themselves were honest and capable.. The answer to this question is difficult.

Specific charges of peculation and wrong management are frequent. On a visit to the Nez Perces reservation in 1861 Superintendent Kendall found the only evidence of farming operations by the agency to consist of about three tons of oats in the straw, although the agent had a full force of treaty employes, and ten laborers besides, at an expense of seven thousand dollars. As the Superintendent fed his horse, he sighed to think that each mouthful of the animal's feed cost the Government at least one dollar. On the Umatilla agency there was an expenditure called for during the first two years of sixty-six thousand dollars; as a

[35]Rpt. Com. Ind. Affairs, 1861, p. 159.
[36]Rpt. Com. Ind. Af., 1862, pp. 400-401.
[36]Recollections of an Indian Agent, Quar. Or. His. Soc., Vol. VIII, No. I. March 1907, p. 14.

result there were in sight in 1862 "two log houses, a half dozen log huts, an open shed for wagons and plows, about a hundred acres of loamy river bottom fenced and in cultivation, a set of carpenter's and blacksmith's tools, and farming implements insufficient for an ordinary half section farm."[37] At the same reservation the outgoing agent remarked to the special agent appointed to take his position that the place of agent was worth there $4,000 per year, although the salary was but $1,500.[38] We could wish, however, in such cases to hear the accused agent's side of the story. Yet in 1858, Mr. Dennison, Indian agent for eastern Oregon, according to his own report, spent $13,500, which "was mostly expended in opening farms upon the Warm Springs reservation"; the next year there were in cultivation on this reservation 356 acres.[39] More convincing proof of fraudulent practices, perhaps, is afforded in the attitude of merchants and others towards agents. When Mr. Davenport, agent at the Umatilla reservation, tried to get competitive bids at Portland, dealers were distrustful and sarcastic, because they thought that he, as was common, was ostensibly seeking bids while in reality having a deal on with some selected firm. "The practice of combining against the Government for mutual profit is so common," comments Mr. Davenport, "that all agents are regarded in the same unenviable light. I said to one of the older merchants: 'It is easy to say that all the agents pilfer in this way, but what do you know about it?' His answer was: 'I say all because all that I know about are guilty. The agent at Warm Springs, at the Grande Ronde, at the Umatilla, at the Siletz does so, and I presume that the rest of them do the same."[40] Another method whereby an agent might line his own pockets was by allowing substitutions of inferior goods in government invoices; Mr. Davenport was offered $1000 for the privilege of exchanging annuity goods for others, item by item.[41]

But, indeed, how could it be expected that these administrators would be efficient and honorable when we consider the system under which they were appointed and did their work? No civil service rules were applied. Men were generally appointed, not because of special fitness either through natural aptitude or through administrative training, but because of political partizanship and at the demand of some Senator or Representative; or, later, they were appointed because of religious affiliations at the suggestion of some religious body. No national tests

[37]Recollections of an Indian Agent, Quar. Ore. His. Soc., Vol. VIII., No. 1, March, 1907, p. 14.
[38]Id., p. 7.
[39]36 Cong., 1st sess., Sen. Doc. I, p. 802.
[40]Recollections of an Indian Agent, Quar. Or. His. Soc., Vol. VIII, No 1, March, 1907, pp. 18-19.
[41]Id. No. 2, June, 1907, p. 105.

were applied, nor was there a sustaining esprit d' corps. There could be no right spirit, indeed, when many government officials considered that the agency system was merely a cheap way of keeping the Indians quiet, and when the western population in general was profoundly skeptical as to the possibility of civilizing the Indian.[42]

The outlook was the more discouraging since the great American panacea—education—seemed a dismal failure when applied to these Indians according to forms then in vogue. There might be quite a furore when a reservation school was opened and the novelty was unworn; but the white child's spelling book or reader soon proved very tame to the young Indian, the more so because of the difficulties of pronunciation. But the principal cause of failure of the day schools was the nomadic habits of the parents; hardly had the Indian child started to school, when away would go the family to the fishing or hunting grounds or to the camas fields. Teachers who were in earnest met this difficulty by establishing boarding schools, where the children could be kept removed from the parental impulsiveness. The next step was natural. These schools emphasized practical training, particularly agriculture for the boys and housekeeping for the girls. This step, taken at a time when in American educational methods, comparatively little attention had been paid seriously to this phase of education, was significant and produced good results.[43] Whatever the shortcomings of the American method of dealing with the Indians in contrast to that of British Columbia, in respect to education, at least, the American system appears to advantage; for the colonial government of British Columbia did practically nothing for the education of the natives.

There were two terrible evils, prevalent both in British Columbia and in the territories, which weakened and degraded the Indians and hindered efforts of every sort for improvement. These were prostitution and the use of liquor.

No more pitiable condition can be imagined than that of the helpless Indian women and girls who were devoted by their husbands and fathers to prostitution among vile whites. The northern Indians brought down to the Songish reserve at Victoria their young women, many of them girls from ten to fourteen years of age, and remained all summer as pimps and procurers.[44] Reports of American Indian agents along the Coast make frequent mention of this practice. In the interior there is less evidence of its existence, but wherever Indians had a chance to

[42]Cf. on these points Id. No. I, pp. 4 & 5.
[43]Rpt. Com. Ind. Af., 1860, p. 184; 1862, p. 263; 1863, pp. 52, 65, 82-84, 449-451, and 473; 1864, pp. 73-4, 85.
[44]British Columbia Papers Connected with the Indian Land Question. Report of I. U. Powell concerning the Songish reserve, pp. 121-2.

linger around towns, they became demoralized. Employes on various agencies prostituted Indian women or took them for concubines; the Superintendent of Washington Territory issued a circular warning all employes from such acts.[45] The results of prostitution are found in reports of physicians of the various agencies, who almost always speak of venereal diseases as common. It should very clearly be understood that these facts were not true of all tribes in like degree; the tribes in the interior were more robust physically and morally and farther removed from contamination. Nor should the chastity of all the individuals of a tribe be judged by specimens which hung about the towns. In the interior, particularly, it was probably true that "unchastity among Indians is the exception, as it is among the whites."[46]

Everywhere, both north and south of the Boundary, Indian welfare was assailed by the liquor traffic, and everywhere the Government engaged in a less or more futile struggle to combat it. Many of the Indians undoubtedly believed, like an Indian orator at Ft. Simcoe, that they had a right to drink whiskey if they wanted to, especially so long as the white man made it,—and there were always white men ready to sell it.[47] Local government took little part in suppressing the trade in the United States, the work being regarded as belonging to the officials of the general Government. These were hindered by lack of summary powers, by the scarcity of jails, and by the reluctance of juries to convict. Only on the reservations were the powers of the agents ample, and even here they might, in part, be nullified by the planting of resorts on the edges. The whole power of Government in British Columbia, on the other hand, could be utilized for the punishment of offenders. Magistrates had summary powers, and conviction entailed heavy fines and, in the case of regular dealers, loss of license. But the magistrates had the care of immense districts, and the Indians were not localized as they were in the United States after the reservation system was completely established. Yet this form of lawlessness, in common with other forms, was better checked on the whole in British Columbia than in the territories.

As we turn, now, to consider the efforts to solve the Indian problem in British Columbia, quotations from two American administrators will help to set before us the better ordered conditions under British rule. The first is from General Harney: "Like all Indians they [the northern Indians] are fond of whisky, and can be seen at all hours of the day

[45]Rpt. Com. Ind. Af., 1861, p. 77.

[46]Recollections of an Indian Agent, Quar. Or. His. Soc., Vol. VIII., No. 2, June, 1907, pp. 127-8.

[47]San Francisco Daily Bulletin, July 24, 1862.

in the streets of Victoria drinking whenever they can get it, yet they are not permitted to become disorderly. These Indians are more obedient under British rule, which appears to be kind, but firm, than their fellow men with us under any of the systems adopted by our government."[48] The other is from an Indian agent, Mr. Davenport, to whom we have before referred. "We have only to look across the line into the British possessions of North America," he says, "to see that their treatment of the Indian has been more promotive of peace and good will than ours, and some people are swift to conclude that the Canadians are of a higher moral tone than the people of the United States. The true reason lies in the fact that their system has a more constant and restraining influence upon the lawless class in society. There is more individual freedom with us, and consequently more room for departure from the normal line of conduct. This difference is boldly in evidence to those of our citizens who have lived in mining regions governed by Canadian officers, whose official tenure does not depend upon the mood of the populace."[49]

The policy of the Colonial Government of British Columbia with respect to the Indian population was distinguished by the following principal features: (1) Title to the soil was not recognized as belonging to the Indians; (2) No compensation, therefore, was allowed to Indians either in the shape of payments, annuities, or of special educational grants; (3) Indians were held to be fellow subjects with white men, and entitled, as individuals, to the protection of law, and responsible for obedience to law; (4) Sequestration of the native population upon large reservations was not followed, but, as settlement proogressed, small reserves were assigned to families and septs, in proximity to settlements of the whites.[50]

The adoption of this policy, so different to that of the United States, was not due to differences between the Indian populations north and south of the line. Some differences, it is true, there were: a great part of the natives of British Columbia had been more uninterruptedly under the tutelage of the Hudson's Bay Company than those across the Boundary, and were somewhat more inclined to work; no one tribe in the Colony was so powerful or so well organized as the Nez Perces; nor did the Indians of the Interior of British Columbia possess so many horses as did those to the south. Yet Kootenays, Pend d'Oreilles, and Okanogans crossed the Line at pleasure; the Shuswaps were very like

[48]36 Cong., 1st Sess., Sen. Doc. II,No. 2. p. 108.

[49]Recollections of an Indian Agent, Quar.. Or. His. Soc., Vol. VIII, No. 4, Dec., 1907, p. 355.

[50]It should be carefully noted that this statement of policy has no reference to hte Canadian policy. The two are clearly distinguishable.

the Coeur d'Alenes or the Cayuses; and the untameability of the nomads south of the Snake was matched by the wildness and ferocity of the Indians to the far north. In numbers, organization, and character it is difficult to see why the natives of the one section were the more adapted to any certain system than those of the other.[51]

The initiation of this policy (especially with respect to the non-recognition of Indian title and the withholding of compensation) was in part due to pressure for funds in the Colony and to the refusal of the Imperial Government to assume any financial responsibility in the matter. Governor Douglas before the founding of the Colony had acted, apparently, on a different principle when, as agent for the Hudson's Bay Company, he had bought in 1850-51 considerable areas from various tribes in Vancouver's Island.[52] Compensation of some sort to Indians on the mainland was at least tentatively indorsed by the colonial office of the Home Government while it was in charge of Sir E. B. Lytton; yetLytton was careful to state that he did not adopt the views of the Aborigines' Protective Society as to the means for extending protection to the natives.[53] This society was an organization in England which had "taken for many years a deep interest in the welfare of the Indian Tribes to the west as well as the east of the Rocky Mountains," and it may be looked upon as a British manifestation of the same sort of philanthropic sentiment in regard to Indians as existed among certain classes in the eastern part of the United States. The Secretary of the Society, in a long letter to Lytton, after quoting a long extract from a New York paper relative to the extreme cruelty of miners to Indians in California and characterizing the Indians of British Columbia as a "strikingly acute and intelligent race of men," "keenly sensitive to their

[51]Statements of numbers of population in both sections may be found in Documents relating to Vancouver's Island Laid Before the House of Commons, 1849, pp. 9 & 10, and Report from the Select Committee on the Hudson's Bay Company, 1857, pp. 366-7. Some information as to the grouping of natives in British Columbia may be obtained from Tolmie and Dawson—Comparative Vocabularies of the Indian Tribes of British Columbia.

[52]These conveyances are found in Papers Connected With the Indian Land Question, pp. 5-11. A clause common to all papers was the following: "The condition of or understanding of this sale is this, that our village sites and enclosed fields are to be kept for our own use, for the use of our children, and for those who may follow after us; and the land shall be properly surveyed hereafter. It is understood, however, that the land itself, with these small exceptions, becomes the entire property of the white people forever; it is also understood that we are at liberty to hunt over the unoccupied lands, and to carry on our fisheries as formerly."

It was claimed by Hon. Joseph W. Trutch that these transactions were merely "made for the purpose of securing friendly relations between those Indians and the settlement of Victoria, * * * and certainly not in acknowledgement of any general title of the Indians to the lands they occupy." Id., Ap. p. 11.

[53]Sir E. B. Lytton to Governor Douglas, July 31, 1858, and Sept. 2, 1858,—Papers relating to Indian Land Question, p. 12; Carnarvon to Governor Douglas, April 11 and May 20, 1859, Id., p. 18.

own rights," and "equally alive to the value of the gold discoveries," claimed for them protection against wanton outrages and asked that "the Native title should be recognized in British Columbia, and that some reasonable adjustment of their claims should be made by the British Government."[54] The policy of compensation to Indians was further endorsed by Governor Douglas in regard to lands on Vancouver Island, on the occasion of the transmission of a petition from the House of Assembly of Vancouver Island, "praying for the aid of Her Majesty's Government in extinguishing the Indian title to the public lands in the Colony." The money then needed amounted to 3000lb, and Douglas proposed that it be advanced by the Imperial Government, payment to be made from the proceeds of sales of land. But the Duke of Newcastle, then Secretary of State for the Colonies, replied tersely that he was "fully sensible of the great importance of purchasing without loss of time the native title to the soil of Vancouver Island; but the acquisition of the title is a purely colonial interest, and the Legislature must not entertain any expectation that the British taxpayer will be burdened to supply the funds or British credit pledged for that purpose."[55]

Whatever the reason, however, for denying recognition of title to the Indians both of the Island and of the Mainland, and for withholding compensation, there can be no doubt of the fact: "The title of the Indians in fee of the public ladns, or any protion thereof," wrote an eminent colonial official, "has never been acknowledged by Government, but, on the contrary is distinctly denied."[56]

The beginnings of a positive Indian policy in British Columbia may be traced in an early letter of Governor Douglas to Sir E. B. Lytton, March 14, 1859. This letter was in reply to one from the latter (Dec. 30, 1858), in which Lytton inquired whether a plan for settling the Indians in permanent villages, like the plan used by Sir George Grey with the Kaffirs in South Africa, might not be feasible.[57]

Douglas endorsed the plan as of advantage both to the Indians and to the Colony and then sketched the principles upon which he proposed to establish reserves on the mainland. In the first place, the reserves should "in all cases include their cultivated fields and village sites, for

[54]Id., pp. 12-14.

[55]Id., p. 20.

[56]Memorandum, 1870, of Joseph W. Trutch, Commissioner of Lands and Works, Id., ap. pp. 10-13. Cf. also The Indian Land Question in British Columbia, a lecture delivered April 22nd, 1910, in Vancouver by Rev. Arthur E. O'Meara, B. A., p. 13. This lecture is in opposition to the policy which has been pursued. The Roman Catholic missionaries, as well as some clergymen of other denominations, have been actively sympathetic with the Indian point of view ,sometimes to the embarrassment of officials; Papers Relating to Indian Land Question, pp. 27-8, 86-91, 145-148.

[57]Id., pp. 16 and 17.

which from habit and association they invariably conceive a strong attachment, and prize more, for that reason, than for the extent or value of the land."[58] Such settlements, in the second place, were to be entirely self-supporting. The Governor here adverted to the plan pursued in the United States with regard to Indian reservations, but stated that that plan was expensive to the Government and debasing to the Indians. The system followed by the Spanish missions in California, likewise, he regarded as defective, in that it kept the Indians in a state of pupilage and did not train them to self-government and self-reliance. He would avoid the evils of both these systems and, in particular, cultivate the pride of independence. He proposed to that end, that each family have title to its own plot of ground, but without power of alienation; that they should be encouraged to add to their possessions by purchasing property apart from the reserve; "that they should in all respects be treated as rational beings, capable of acting and thinkinig for themselves; and, lastly, that they should be placed under proper moral and religious training and then be left, under the protection of the laws, to provide for their own support."[59] "I have impressed upon the miners," wrote Douglas to Lytton, "the great fact that the law will protect the Indian equally with the white man, and regard him in all respects as a fellow subject."[60] "The Indian population," he wrote to another, "are considered by the laws of England as fellow subjects, entitled to protection and punishable, when guilty of offenses, through the sole action of the law."[61] In a review of the Colonial Indian policy, written in 1875, the Attorney General stated that that policy "was based on the broad and experimental principle of treating the Indian as a fellow subject."[62]

It now remains for us to inquire how this Indian policy, so based, was applied by the Colonial Government to this class of Her Majesty's subjects; not omitting, as we do so, to notice contrasts to administration in the United States.

In the administration of justice the courts of British Columbia treated the Indian as the white man was treated. "When Indians commit

[58]This principle was acted upon, also, with regard to burial grounds. In the establishment of the reserve system, as, indeed, in all dealings with the Indians, the officials of British Columbia were more considerate of the prejudices and attachments of the Indians than officials in the United States usually were. An interesting example of this consideration was an "Ordinance to prevent the violation of Indian graves." This ordinance decreed that anyone damaging or removing any image, bones, or any article or thing deposited in, on, or near any Indian grave in the Colony, would be liable to a fine of £100 for the first offense, and twelve months imprisonment at hard labor for the second. In any indictment "it shall be sufficient to state that such grave, image, bones, article or thing is the property of the Crown." Ordinances of the Legislative Council of British Columbia, Sess. Jan.-April, 1865, No. 19.

[59]Papers Relating to Indian Land Question, pp. 16 and 17.

[60]Oct. 11, 1858; Papers Regarding British Columbia, I, 39.

[61]Douglas to Mortimer Robertson, Miscellaneous Letters, Ms., I, p. 37.

[62]Papers Relating to the Indian Land Question, p. 4.

offenses," ordered Governor Douglas, "they are to be dealt with impartially and to receive a fair trial before the proper authorities, and not to be treated like the wild beasts of the forest."[63] We get a glimpse of the way in which the law was administered with respect to Indians from the terse records of the old Ft. Hope Police Book. An Indian, for stealing money from another was sentenced to two days in jail. Two Indians, for being drunk and disorderly, were sent to jail for twenty-four hours. Simon B. McClure was charged by an Indian with assaulting him and was fined forty shillings. William Welch, charged by another Indian with the same offense, claimed that the Indian had beaten his dog and attacked him with a knife; Welch was let off, and the Indian was reprimanded. An Indian who struck an Indian woman in the face with a gun had his hair cut off. J. Spencer Thompson, for selling about one pint of liquor to an Indian had to pay a fine of $100, with costs, and lost his license to sell liquor. The sentences, it will be observed, were generally light for minor offenses, but not for selling liquor to Indians. Whites and Chinamen, the records reveal, were treated eactly as the Indians. Of course for grave offenses Indians, as well as others, were bound over to the assizes. In a number of cases Indians were hung for murder. This even-handed, carefully adjusted dealing out of justice to Indians, whites, and Chinese alike, contrasts plainly with the carelessness, ruthlessness, and lack of system in the territories. One could scarcely imagine an event like the following occurring on an American frontier: "May 28, 1862. Chas. Millard, Capt. of the Ft. Hope (steamboat) appeared to answer the complaint of Jim (an Indian) for having on the 16th inst. broken and otherwise damaged his canoe at Union, valued at twenty-five dollars ($25.00).

"Ordered to pay four pounds ($20.00) being the damage sustained by the Indian as sworn to by C. C. Craigie & Wm. Yates. Paid. P. O'Reilly, J. P."[64]

It is difficult in the mining regions south of the Line to find satisfactory records as to how justice was administered to the Indian. The reservation system, as it was being applied in the Pacific Nrothwest, weakened the ancient tribal authority; the "subsidy plan" tended to alienate the people from the chiefs, and the presence of Agents lessened their prestige in the eyes of the young or of those inclined to be bad. The Agents, on their part, had no authority for the punishment of criminal acts. If they had possessed magisterial powers, both with regard to whites and Indians, justice might have been better administered. Local authorities had no

[63]Misel. Letters, Ms. I, 37.

[64]The old Police Book is the more trustworthy, because it was not intended as a report, nor for publication. The officials whose judgments were recorded were Chief Justice Begbie and Mr. O'Reilly.

jurisdiction over Indians who were on reservations, although they sometimes punished those who were off of them.[65] Only United States courts had full power, but these courts were slow in action, and could not be expected, moreover, to take cognizance of minor cases. Indian criminals, finally, were sometimes arrested by army officials and tried by army courts with scanty consideration.[66] For the Indian, indeed, there seems to have been at this period practically no real protection before the law in the American procedure.

In case of Indian outbreak the British Columbia system aimed to punish offenders as individuals and not to take revenge on tribes. One of the marked features of the history of the Colony of British Columbias is that there was but one serious Indian outbreak during the colonial period.[66½] This happened in April, 1864, when some Chilcotien Indians killed road-makers and settlers to the number of fourteen. The whole tribe went on the warpath, but were subdued by volunteers from New Westminister and Cariboo. Rewards of $250 each were offered for the individual murderers, the aim being, as Governor Seymour expressed it, "to secure justice, not vengeance."[67] Too often, south of the Line, in case of Indian depredations, there was no discrimination between the tribe and guilty members of the tribe.[68]

In the British Columbia Indian system, as we have before stated there was no policy of bestowing annuities or subsidies, although gifts were sometimes made for special reasons.[69] To the student of American Indian history special interest attaches in this connection to the judgment of Mr. William Duncan, a man of very great experience, wisdom, and success in his dealings with Indians. Mr. Duncan wrote as follows in 1875 from his mission at Metlakahtla: "In no matter affecting the

[65]Some Indians were tried and convicted for murder in 1861, in the Wasco County (Oregon) Circuit Court: Oregonian, Oct. 12, 1861.

[66]Two renegade Umatilla Indians on one occasion attempted to rob a sleeping miner. He awoke, and in a scuffle one of them shot and wounded him. These Indians called at the lodge of Howlish Wampo, a much respected Cayuse chief, and then disappeared. Colonel Steinburger, in command at Walla Walla, had the chief arrested, put in chains, and was dissuaded from executing him only by the earnest soliciations of the Indian Agent. The two Indians were afterward arrested and, after a farcical trial by a military commission were executed. The miner had not died. Recollections of an Indian Agent, Quar. Or. His. Soc., Vol. VIII, No. 1, March, 1907, pp. 24-35.

[66½]There was a disturbance in 1848 betwee nIndians and miners along the Fraser, before Government was established. Miners volunteered and organized in true American fashion and compelled peace.

[67]Government Gazette, May 28, 1864, and Jan. 14, 1865.

[68]When Bolon, Indian Agent of the Yakimas, was murdered in 1855, the Olympia Pioneer and Democrat said: "Chastisement can now be visited upon the tribes instead of going to the trouble of ferreting out individual guilty members." Oct. 12, 1855.

[69]In the Budget of 1864, out of a total of £135,639, theer was specified for gifts to Indian chiefs, £200, (Governemnt Gazette, Feb. 20, 1864); out of a total appropriation of £122,250 in 1869, £100 was appropriated for Indian expenses. (Papers Relating to the Indian Land Question, p. 98.)

Indians can the Government do more good or harm than in the matter of gifts.

"Money may be spent to a large amount upon the Indians and yet tend only to alienate, dissatisfy, and impoverish them, if wrongly applied; whereas a small sum rightly administered will yield much good both to the Indians and the country at large.

"The policy of dealing out gifts to individual Indians I consider cannot be too strongly deprecated, as it is both degrading and demoralizing. To treat the Indians as paupers is to perpetuate their baby-hood and burdensomeness. To treat them as savages, whom we fear and who must be tamed and kept in good temper by presents, will perpetuate their barbarism and increase their insolence. I would therefore strongly urge the Government to set their faces against such a policy." He recommended, on the positive side, that money be put into Public Works for the benefit of the Indians. It will thus be seen that Mr. Duncan held substantially the same views with regard to annuities as did the Agents and superintendents south of the Line, whose well-conceived ideas were nullified by the officials and contractors in the East.[69½]

As has before been remarked, the Colony of British Columbia made no special effort for the education of the Indians. It was averred on the part of the Government that "the Government merely deferred the subject, believing that it was far more important in the interests of the community at large to first reclaim the Natives from their savage state and teach them the practical and rudimentary lessons of civilized life."[70] Beyond establishing reserves, however, and placing the Indians under law, one fails to see how the Government directly tried to teach them these "practical and rudimentary lessons." Certainly there was no effort by the Government to teach the Indians agriculture or any of the practical arts, as there was south of the Line.

There were other ways, however, in which the Colonial Government did help the Indians at considerable expense. In surveying reserves, and in keepinig whites off of them; in the suppression of the liquor traffic; in exemptions from tolls, taxes, and customs; and in direct pecuniary aid for the destitute and the sick, the aggregate expenditures and rebates were considerable. Morevore, the Magistrates in the several Districts were to act as Indian Agents, and to advise and protect the Indian "in all matters relating to their welfare."[71]

[69½]It might have been well for the enthusiastic Eastern philanthropists, who were so zealous in inveighing against wrongs perpetrated by Westerners upon the Indians, to have directed some of their efforts to their own neighbors.

[70]Papers Relating to Indian Land Question, Ap., p. 4.

[71]Id., p. 4.

We arrive now, finally, at the very important subject of reserves. These Indian reserves of British Columbia are to be clearly distinguished from the Indian reservations of the United States. The latter were very large in area, were assigned to a tribe or to a number of tribes, were founded on the principle of sequestration from the whites, and were under the oversight of an agent; the reserves of British Columbia were small, were assigned to septs or families, were often contiguous to white settlements, and had no special agents. In size the reserves of British Columbia varied in all degrees from one acre to six thousand acres.[72] The total area of surveyed reserves amounted in 1871 to 28,437 acres.[73] The general principle on which reserves were assigned was that each head of a family should be given ten acres, but in practice there was considerable variation.[74] It seems strange to one accustomed to American reservations, that a reserve of six hundred suare miles for a tribe of 400 members should have been regarded as entirely too extensive to be allowed.[75]

The principle of assigning land in so small amounts, on what we may call a village system, may have been adopted with special reference to conditions of life among the Coast Indians or among those of the lower Fraser, for whose use (since they made their living by fishing or working for whites) a small parcel of land was sufficient but for the pastoral Indians of the interior it seemed manifestly insufficient. So long as there was plenty of range, the smallness of the reserves was not felt, but when whites acquired title to vacant lands and, at the same time, the wants of the Indians increased, the latter felt themselves unjustly treated.[76] When British Columbia entered the Confederation, the Dominion Government wanted the Indians to have eighty acres for each head of family. This the Province refused, but it did consent to grant twenty. This amount still being considered insufficient for the Interior Indians by the Dominion Superintendent of Indian Affairs for British Columbia, he requested that it be raised to forty acres (in accordance with the principle then recognized in the preemption laws of British Columbia, which allowed 160 acres west of the Cascades, but 320 east); but the request was not granted.[77]

In addition to their reserves, however, the Indians of British Columbia had the right to acquire land outside the reserves on the same terms as white men,—a right not possessed at that time by their kindred to the South. This right was clearly stated by Governor Douglas: "That

[72]Schedule of Indian Reserves in the Province of British Columbia; Papers Relating to Indian Land Question, pp. 101-5.

[73]Report of the Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works, Id., p. 103.

[74]Id., p. 137.

[75]Id., p. 33.

[76]On this phase consult letter of Rev. Father Grandidier from Okanogan, Id., pp. 145-147.

[77]Id., p. 124.

measure," he said (referring to the reserve system) "is not, however, intended to interfere with the private rights of individuals of the future Tribes, or to incapacitate them, as such, from holding land; on the contrary, they have precisely the same rights of acquiring and possessing land in their individual capacity, either by purchase or by occupation under the Pre-emption Law, as other classes of Her Majesty's Subjects; provided they in all respects comply with the legal conditions of tenure by which land is held in this Colony."[78] This right, however, was afterwards modified to the extent that pre-emption could be exercised by an Indian only by special consent of the Government.[79] So late as 1872 an Indian received special permission to pre-empt one hundred acres.

As to which system, that of British Columbia or that of the United States, on the whole was the better, is a question difficult, if not impossible to decide; and it would certainly involve extensive research in the period subsequent to that of our study and beyond its scope.

W. J. TRIMBLE.

[78]Government Gazette, Jan. 30, 1864.
[79]Papers Relating to the Indian Land Question, Ap., p. 4.

DOCUMENTS

The prominence given to the name of the Indian Chief Leschie in the City of Seattle is sufficient to lend an interest to the following record of a meeting of pioneers in Pierce County. It was copid from the Pioneer and Democrat of Friday, January 29, 1858, by Harry B. McElroy of Olympia. Mr. McElroy has a fine series of old territorial newspapers.

Indignation Meeting

The citizens of Pierce County, W. T., after returning from witnessing the disgraceful transaction enacted at Fort Steilacoom, the place appointed for the execution of the murderer Leschi, on the 22d January, 1858, assembled at the church in Steilacoom City.

Mr. O. P. Meeker was called to the chair, and N. W. Orr was chosen Secretary.

The chairman then stated the object of the meeting.

The meeting was addressed by Messrs. Sam McCaw, E. Cady and Henry Bradley. On motion,

A committee of five were appointed, consisting of A. L. Porter, O. H. White, W. R. Downey, E. M. Meeker and M. J. West, for the purpose of drafting resolutions expressing the views of this meeting as regards the conduct of Sheriff, Geo. Williams, U. S. Commissioner, J. M. Bachelder, and such of the military officers at the Steilacoom Garrison as assisted in evading the execution of the law, and likewise the disgraceful course pursued by Frank Clark.

The committee, after retiring for a short time, reported the following resolutions which were unanimously adopted.

WHEREAS, at connivance, as we fully believe, of sheriff Williams and others, an arrest was made of said Williams for the purpose of preventing the execution of Leschi, who had been tried, convicted of murder, and sentenced to death, therefore,

RESOLVED, That we, as citizens of Pierce County, denounce the act as being unworthy of honorable men. That the aiders, abetters and sympathisers in this high-handed outrage, deserve the unqualified condemnation of all lovers of good, order, and are no longer entitled to our confidence.

RESOLVED, That the action of those of the officers of the U. S. A. at Fort Steilacoom, who have participated, aided and abetted in

the arrest of sheriff Williams at the very hour he was to have executed Leschi, and, as we believe, solely for the purpose of preventing him from performing his duty as sheriff, deserve at our hands the severest condemnation, that we consider it an act unworthy of the officers of the U. S. army, it being clearly their duty to assist in enforcing the law instead of throwing obstacles in the way of its mandates.

RESOLVED, That the action of the U. S. Commissioner, J. M. Bachelder, in issuing a warrant for the arrest of sheriff Williams, on the affidavit of an Indian, and, as we believe, with full knowledge of the object to be effected by the arrest, is without the least shadow of excuse, and that the interest of the community demands his immediate removal.

RESOLVED, That we believe that Frank Clark has done all that was in his power to prevent the execution of the laws, and has been instrumental in having an affidavit filed, which resulted in the arrest of the sheriff and his deputy, and we brand the act as being unworthy of a law abiding citizen of this Territory.

RESOLVED, That the representative of the foreign company in our midst, W. F. Tolmie, has, by his own officiousness in this matter, rendered himself more than obnoxious to the citizens of Pierce County, and that we earnestly desire to see the day when our Country shall be rid of this incubus on our prosperity.

On motion of A. C. Lowell,

A committee of three was appointed by the Chair, consisting of Henry Bradley, A. L. Porter and Sam McCaw to circulate the above resolutions to give such of our citizens as wish, the opportunity to endorse the same.

On motion of A. C. Lowell, The proceedings [were ordered] published in the Pioneer and Democrat. On motion the meeting adjourned.

O. P. Meeker, Ch'n

N. W. Orr, Sec.

BOOK REVIEWS

THE STORY OF THE PONY EXPRESS. By Glen D. Bradley. (Chicago, A. C. McClurg & Co. 1913. Pp. 175. $.75.)

The Pony Express was an incidental enterprise of importance in the attempts to establish rapid communication between the Missouri River and the Pacific Coast during the early sixties. Before the middle of the nineteenth century explorers and traders in the far West had established three great thoroughfares across the continent. These were the Santa Fe, the Salt Lake, and the Oregon trails. The Mormon settlement of Utah and the discovery of gold in California led to the establishment of mail routes across the country. In spite of governmental subsidies, the difficulties occasioned by the Indians, the severe weather, especially in the mountains, irregular highways and absence of bridges made communication particularly difficult and uncertain. Railroads and telegraph lines were being pushed east and west, but had not connected when the Civil War approached, and with it grave fears lest California be lost to the Union. Rapid communication was essential and into this gap was pushed the Pony Express, a thoroughly organized system of riders who carried the mails on horseback between stations maintained along the route. For sixteen months the daring men identified with this work with unsurpassed courage and unflinching endurance kept the two sections in communication with each other until, in October, 1861, telegraph wires took the place of flesh and blood as means of communication, and the Pony Express passed into history, and California was saved to the Union. The Pony Express failed in a financial way to reimburse its organizers, but it served the country well and gave another opportuntiy for the exercise of "man-defying American pluck and determination—qualities that have always characterized the winning of the West." Mr. Bradley's theme has much in it of romance and heroism and he has lost none of it in the telling. EDWARD MCMAHON.

THE COMING CANADA. (The World To-day Series.) By Joseph King Goodrich, Sometime Professor in the Imperial Government College, Kyoto. (Chicago, A. C. McClurg & Co. 1913. Pp. VIII. 309. $1.50 net.)

This book was written not for the specialist in history or political science, but for the general reader, and should be judged from that stand-

point. It is largely a compilation from satisfactory authorities, but the author relies upon direct knowledge gained by travel during the past twenty-five years and he has also received suggestions and statistics from the various departmental authorities at Ottawa. The book has no independent historical value, but forms a good guide for the general reader and is well worth perusal by one who is contemplating a Canadian tour or desires a bird's view of present conditions. The range of topics is broad, covering, with the exception of present party politics and problems of racial and religious assimilation, all subjects of major interest.

One excellent chapter is devoted to sources of Canadian wealth; according to the view of the author, the greatness of The Coming Canada is founded upon agricultural products, live stock and kindred industries, rather than upon its mineral wealth. This seems to be the keynote of the book. Subjects worthy of especial mention are governmental policies for internal development, including the homestead laws; railway, past, present and future; and brief discussions of the social and economic relations of Canada and the United States. The description of local and central institutions of government is adequate for the purposes of the general reader.

The historical introduction, comprising the first quarter of the book, is the least satisfactory. It has no independent historical value and the facts may be obtained elsewhere in briefer and more satisfactory shape. The notices, however, of official processes by which the present boundaries of the Dominion were attained, are adequate.

The forty illustrations from photographs add greatly to the attractiveness of the volume; but the reviewer regrets that at least one of them could not have been replaced by a good map.

OLIVER H. RICHARDSON.

SUBJECT INDEX TO THE HISTORY OF THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST AND OF ALASKA AS FOUND IN THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT DOCUMENTS, CONGRESSIONAL SERIES, IN THE AMERICAN STATE PAPERS, AND IN OTHER DOCUMENTS, 1789-1881. Prepared by Katharine B. Judson, A. M., for the Seattle Public Library. (Published by the Washington State Library, Olympia, 1913. Pp. 341.)

The compiling of this index involved the examining page by page of over 2,000 volumes of documents. One can readily imagine the deadening drag of such a piece of work unless it was done by a person with a historical sense who saw what a help it would be to those making a study of Pacific Northwest history from its original sources. Those who have tried by themselves to dig out material from early documents know

how helpless they are and they will readily recognize the usefulness of such a reference work as Miss Judson has compiled.

It may be interesting to note that the history of no other section of the United States has been covered by such an index.

There may be some question why the index was not brought down to a date later than 1881. This was unnecessary, as there are adequate general indexes to government documents from that year to date.

One might be led to think from the title "Subject Index" that each document included had been minutely indexed. This is not the case and it would have been impractical to have attempted to do so, but on the other hand when a document was found to include material on several topics, such, for example, as mail service, fisheries, agriculture, it has been listed under these various headings. Perhaps it is more nearly a catalogue than an index to documents. Arranged as it is under broad headings rather than specific ones, the index can scarcely be considered a ready reference tool, but I am doubtful if it could have been made so, at least not without greatly increasing the amount of work entailed in compiling it.

The index covers a much wider range of topics than the word history usually is taken to include. Banks and banking, missions, mail service, education, roads, and cost of living are some of the subject headings which are used. Accordingly it would seem that the index should prove indispensable to any one who is studying the development of the Pacific Northwest from a social, political, religious, economic, or historical point of view.

Although the index is of primary use to the serious student, still it makes available much thoroughly readable material for those who have interested themselves in the history of the Pacific Northwest merely for their own pleasure. CHARLES H. COMPTON.

GUIDE TO THE MATERIALS FOR UNITED STATES HISTORY IN CANADIAN ARCHIVES. By David W. Parker. (Washington, Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1913. Pp. 339.)

Of the Papers thus far issued by the Department of Historical Research of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, none can prove of greater service to American historical scholarship than the present volume. As stated by Professor Jameson in the Preface: "The constant relations between Canada and the English colonies, or the United States, during two centuries of conflict and a hundred years of peace, across the longest international line, save one, that the world has ever known, have made it

inevitable that the archives of Canada should abound in documents useful, and sometimes highly important, to the history of the United States." Students of our own regional history will be astonished to find what a wealth of material is preserved in the Canadian archives, particularly in the archives of the Archbishopric of Quebec, that bears directly upon the history of Oregon and Washington. It will be particularly regretted, by students in these states, that the Archives of British Columbia located in the nearby city of Victoria could not have been adequately listed. It is stated, however, that "A complete annotated catalogue of the documents in the Provincial Archives [of British Columbia] will be issued as soon as the Department moves into the new quarters, now being built, and the material will then be available to the student."

AN AMERICAN HISTORY. By Nathaniel W. Stephenson, Professor of History in the College of Charleston. (New York, Ginn & Co. 1913. Pp. 604.)

AMERICAN HISTORY AND GOVERNMENT. By Willis M. West, Sometime Professor of History in the University of Minnesota. (New York, Allyn & Bacon, 1913. Pp. 801.)

A SHORT HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES. By John S. Bassett, Professor of History in Smith College. (New York, The Macmillan Co. 1913. Pp. 884. $2.50.)

These three new textbooks appearing within a few weeks of each other bear eloquent witness of the activity of the teaching and study of history. Prof. Stephenson's book is intended for use in the elementary schools, and is eminently fair and well balanced. Very great care has been exercised in the selection of illustrations and in some cases the author has very wisely chosen those of representative men not usually pictured in a textbook. A very large number of small maps are used to elucidate the text, and in this respect the author has set a new mark in efficient textbook making.

Bassett's Short History is a textbook for the use of college students and for readers who desire a reliable account of United States history in a single volume. In addition to these uses, it will no doubt have a wide sale as a reference book in schools whose library facilities are limited. Professor Bassett is always careful about his facts. The emphasis is well proportioned and the maps well selected. There are no illustrations. The subject matter of the volume is treated in a purely conventional way and differs very radically in this respect from Professor West's His-

tory and Government. If one could apply the terms of politics to history writing Bassett's book is conservative and West's progressive. Professor West is widely known as a textbook writer and is just as careful of his facts and proportion as Professor Bassett, but he has had a different purpose in mind. He views history not merely as political history. "The growth of our political democracy has been intertwined with the development of our economic and industrial conditions. I have tried to make this interaction the pervading principle in determining the arrangement and selection of material. * * * [and] I should not have cared to write the book at all, if I had not believed that a fair presentation of American history gives to American youth a robust and aggressive faith in democracy. At the same time, I have tried to correct the common delusion which looks back to Jefferson or John Winthrop for a golden age, and to show instead that democracy has as yet been tried only imperfectly among us."

West's selection of material has been well made with this end in view. The book is stimulating and suggestive and will meet with hearty approval from those who are disciples of the "new history" and will throw a flood of new light upon the subject for those who have studied and taught history in the conventional way. With the spread of democracy, such books as West's are bound to grow in number and use.

EDWARD MCMAHON.

WRITINGS OF JOHN QUINCY ADAMS. Edited by Worthington Ford. (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1913. Vol. 2, 1796-1801.) Pp. 531. $3.50 net.)

Volume 1 of this important set was noted in the Quarterly for April, 1913, page 131. As noted there, the readers in the Pacific Northwest are awaiting with interest the subsequent volumes containing the record of John Quincy Adams in the diplomacy of Old Oregon.

DECISIONS, JULY, 1912, TO JULY, 1913. By United States Geographic Board. (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1913, Pp. 54.)

There are here given 365 decisions on geographic names. Of this total a surprising number of decisions (107) are devoted to geographic features of the State of Washington. Of these there are 56 in Whatcom County in the vicinity of Mount Baker and 49 are found in the Mount Rainier National Park. The remaining two are Mount Spokane and Portage Bay, the latter a part of Lake Union, Seattle.

EARLY AMERICAN MOUNTAINEERS. By Allen H. Bent. (Reprint from Appalacia, Vol. XIII, No. 1. Pp. 45 to 67.)

Western mountains come in for a fair share of attention in this interesting little monograph. There are a number of portraits, among which may be seen those of David Douglass, the famous early botanist who wrought in the Pacific Northwest, and General Hazard Stevens, who made the first ascent of Mount Rainier with P. B. Van Trump.

MYTHS AND LEGENDS OF THE GREAT PLAINS. Selected and edited by Katharine Berry Judson. (Chicago, A. C. McClurg & Co. 1913. Pp. 205. $1.50 net.)

This is the fourth volume in the series of Myths and Legends edited by Miss Judson. Earlier volumes covering Alaska, The Pacific Northwest, and California and the Old Southwest have been noted in previous issues of this magazine.

ONE HUNDRED YEARS OF PEACE. By Henry Cabot Lodge. (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1913. Pp. 136. $1.25 net.)

This timely book should find a welcome in the State of Washington, where committees are already at work to celebrate the centennial of peace by the erection of an arch or some other form of imposing monument where the Pacific Highway passes from the United States into Canada.

JAMES HARLAN. By Johnson Brigham. (Iowa City, The State Historical Society of Iowa, 1913. Pp. 398.)

This latest volume in the very creditable Iowa Biographical Series (edited by Benj. F. Shambaugh) is the well told story of one of Iowa's best known sons. James Harlan was a typical Westerner, a man of rugged sincerity, an orator and debater of no mean ability, an independent and self-reliant leader of a pioneer people. The years of his political career were entangled with the anti-slavery agitation, the Civil War, and the confused and trying periods of Reconstruction. He was not perhaps a stateman of first rank, but Iowa does well in setting forth the work of her sons in the very excellent series of which this volume forms a creditable addition. On the whole, the volume does not measure up to the standard for fairness set by some of the earlier volumes. On too many controverted points the opinion of the "Burlington Hawk-Eye" and "the Iowa State Register" are quoted as if their judgment was final.

A good many states would reflect credit on themselves by encouraging a similar excellent biographical series.

THE LIFE OF ROBERT TOOMBS. By Ulrich Bonnell Phillips, Ph. D., Professor of American History in the University of Michigan. (New York, The Macmillan Co. 1913. Pp. 281. $2.00.)

This volume from the pen of one of the ablest students of American history gives in available form an interesting and instructive account of one of the leading "fire-eaters" of the ante-bellum period. Professor Phillips treats Toombs as an exponent of the social and industrial history of his period and section and therefore emphasizes these factors rather than those that are purely biographical. In very large measure he allows Toombs to speak for himself through his speeches and letters.

AN ECONOMIC INTERPRETATION OF THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES. By Charles A. Beard, Associate Professor of Politics, Columbia University. (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1913. Pp. VII, 330. $2.25 net.)

Professor Beard in this work is concerned with the "forces which condition" a great movement in politics, viz., the making of our national constitution. Rapidly sketching the economic interests in 1787, the movement for the constitution and the property-safeguards in the election of delegates, he leads up to the most direct contribution in the book, viz., a study of the personal and financial interests of the framers of that document. Biographical sketches of the members are given from this new angle. The basis being a careful study of the extant records of the Treasury Department at Washington now used for the first time in this connection. Emphasis is laid upon the economic interests represented in "personality in public securities," "personality invested in lands for speculation," "personality in the form of money loaned at interest," "personality in mercantile, manufacturing, and shipping lines" and "personality in slaves." The remaining chapters treat of the political doctrines of the "framers" and the process of ratification. Professor Beard states frankly that his study is fragmentary, but he has unquestionably made available to students a body of facts that must be taken into account by anyone desiring to understand the making of our constitution.

Other Books Received

AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY. Proceedings, New Series, Volume 23, Part I. (Worcester, Society, 1913. Pp. 169.

AMERICAN JEWISH HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Publications, Number 21. (N. Y. Society, 1913. Pp. 304.)

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION. Annual Report, 1911, Volume 1. (Washington, Govt. 1913. Pp. 842.)

AMERICAN SCENIC AND HISTORIC PRESERVATION SOCIETY. Eighteenth Annual Report, 1913. (Albany, Lyon, 1913. Pp. 832.)

ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Transactions for the year 1911. (Springfield, State Historical Library, 1913. Pp. 151.)

KANSAS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Biennial Report, 1910-1912. (Topeka, 1913. Pp. 193.)

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS. Classification, Class E-F, America. (Wash., Govt. 1913. Pp. 298. 40 cents.)

ONTARIO HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Annual Report, 1913. (Toronto, Society, 1913. Pp. 78.)

ONTARIO HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Papers and Records, Volume 11. (Toronto, Society, 1913. Pp. 81.)

Entire number devoted to a study of "Place Names in Georgian Bay and North Channel," by James White.

RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Proceedings, 1911-1913. (Providence, Society, 1913. Pp. 92.)

RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY. The Seal, the Arms and the Flag of Rhode Island, by Howard M. Chapin. (Providence, Society, 1913. Pp. 16.)

SEATTLE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE. In Memoriam—John Harte McGraw. (Seattle, Chamber of Commerce, 1911. Pp. 84.)

THEABAUD, AUGUSTUS J. Three Quarters of a Century (1807 to 1882); a retrospect written from documents and memory. (N. Y. United States Catholic Historical Society, 1913. Pp. 204.)

VIRGINIA STATE LIBRARY. Ninth Annual Report, 1911-1913. (Richmond, State Printer, 1913. Pp. 49+335.)

Appendix contains a list of the Revolutionary soldiers of Virginia.

WASHINGTON BANKERS ASSOCIATION. Proceedings of the Eighteenth Annual Convention, 1913. (Tacoma, Association, 1913. Pp. 198.)

WASHINGTON STATE FEDERATION OF WOMEN'S CLUBS. Seventeenth Annual Report, 1913-1914. (Printed at Sunnyside, Wash. 1913. Pp. 114.)

WASHINGTON STATE HIGH SCHOOL DIRECTORY, 1913-14. Olympia, Lamborn, 1913. Pp. 126.)

WISCONSIN HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Collections, Volume 20. Edited by Reuben Gold Thwaites. (Madison, Society, 1911. Pp. 497.)

Devoted to a history of the fur-trade in Wisconsin.

NEWS DEPARTMENT

Death of Reuben Gold Thwaites

History interests of the Pacific Northwest, as well as those of other parts of the United States, have sustained a severe loss in the sudden death of Reuben Gold Thwaites on October 22. As Secretary of the Wisconsin State Historical Society he worked out an international reputation as editor and author of extensive works in the field of history. His will be a most difficult place to fill.

Professor Turner's Visit to the Coast

Professor Frederick J. Turner, formerly of the University of Wisconsin, but now of the Harvard faculty, will be in the Pacific Northwest next summer, dividing his time between the Universities of Oregon and Washington. He will deliver the commencement address at the University of Washington in June.

Professor Golder Goes to Russia

Professor Frank A. Golder of the Washington State College will leave for St. Petersburg on January 24, where he will catalogue the materials in the Russian archives relating to America. This work is being done for the Carnegie Institution, Department of Historical Research. Professor Golder is one of the few American historians who is perfectly at home with the Russian language. His selection for this work is complimentary to the Pacific Northwest.

Death of Mrs. Isaac I. Stevens

Even the older pioneers of Washington were surprised to read on November 6, 1913, that the widow of the first Territorial Governor, Isaac I. Stevens, had just died. Since her husband's heroic death at the Battle of Chantilly, September 1, 1862, she had been living at her home, 8 Bowdoin Avenue, Boston. Her son, General Hazard Stevens, who was with her to the last, writes that, though his mother had passed the ninetieth milestone of an eventful life, she retained her cordial interest in the children of men and just quietly went to sleep.

Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association

The Eleventh Annual meeting of the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association met at Los Angeles, November 28-29, as guests of the University of Southern California. Prof. Frank J. Klingberg, of the University of Southern California, opened the pro-

gramme with a paper on "The Anti-Slavery Movement in England," in which he traced the history of the movement which led to freedom, but was unaccompanied by any such upheaval as characterized our anti-slavery movement. In the second paper, "The Movement of Population in Feudal and Modern Japan," Prof. Y. Ichihashi, of Stanford University, examined the growth and decline of Japanese population in the light of the well known principles of Malthus. Prof. Ichihaschi illustrated his statistical tables by means of charts and concluded that movements of population were far more intimately connected with economic development than with the natural checks discussed by Malthus. The concluding paper of the afternoon session was read by Prof. Robt. G. Cleland of Occident College. In discussing "The Relation of Slavery to the Early Sentiment for the Acquisition of California" he pointed out that the agitation of the slavery question in connection with California came after the acquisition and not before, and he made it clear to all that there is abundant need to study Western history from the sources in order to escape the bias of the more general historians who see the whole field in terms of the slavery struggle.

The annual dinner was held at Christopher's and was presided over by that "Prince of Toastmasters," Prof. H. Morse Stephens. President J. M. Guinn delivered the President's Address, which was a study of the old municipal archives of Los Angeles. The dry humor and keen wit of the Nestor of California historians found an admirable field in commenting on these quaint Mexican archives. Greetings were then heard from various representatives in attendance "from Seattle to San Diego." No one who knows Morse Stephens will need be told the dinner was in every way a complete success.

Saturday morning's session was given over to a wide range of discussion. Dean Bliss, of the San Diego Normal School, set forth the contents and value of "The Hayes Collection in the Bancroft Library." Prof. F. H. White, of Pomona College, summarized the history of "The Development of the National Land Administration," confining himself largely to the technique of administration. Professor Herbert E. Bolton gave the results of his study in sources by tracing some of the Spanish explorers in the West. At the business session which followed the officers for the coming year were elected, as follows: President, Edmond S. Meany, of the University of Washington; Vice-President, E. B. Krehbiel, of Stanford University; Secretary-Treasurer, William A. Morris, of the University of California. To membership on the Executive Council the following were chosen: Edith Jordan, Los Angeles Polytechnic High

School; Robert G. Cleland, Occident College; Dean Bliss, San Diego Normal; and Edward McMahon, University of Washington.

A complimentary luncheon given by the University of Southern California initiated the members still further into the boundless hospitality of that institution, and then the final session was held in co-operation with the Southern California Social Science Association. Owing to the absence of Professor Schafer of Oregon, Professor Bolton gave an excellent talk on the value of local history, which compensated in large measure for the absence of Professor Schafer. Miss Jane Harnett, of Long Branch, led the discussion and laid emphasis upon many of the points touched upon by Professor Bolton. The second paper, "An Introduction to the Social Sciences," by Professor Emory S. Bogardus, of the University of Southern California, was a discussion of a course designed for students in the junior colleges and was reinforced by Professor Bogardus' experience in giving the course. Professor Edward McMahon, of the University of Washington, followed with a plea for emphasis on "The Social Sciences in the High Schools." He contended that the instruction now given is inadequate to meet the demands of citizenship placed upon our citizens. Miss Anna Stewart, discussing both papers dealing with the social sciences, told very interestingly of the valuable work now being done in the Los Angeles High School with classes in social problems, and demonstrated the necessity of serious consideration of these questions by students who are passing out of the high school to deal with them as citizens.

The meeting at Los Angeles was in every respect a complete success and the large attendance and hospitality of the people made all the delegates exceedingly anxious for an invitation to come again.

Marking an Old Historic Site

Led by W. H. Gilstrap, under the auspices of the Wsahington State Historical Society, a number of pioneers assembled at Tacoma recently and repaired to the site on the prairie near that city where a monument was unveiled. It marks the end of the long journey of taht famous party of pioneers who in 1853 were the first to reach Puget Sound by crossing the Cascade Range. Only a few of the original party survive, but it is believed that every one of the survivors were assembled for the interesting ceremony.

NORTHWESTERN HISTORY SYLLABUS

[The aim of this department is to furnish outlines that will aid those who wish to study the subject systematically. It is expected that its greatest use will be as a guide for members of women's clubs, literary societies, and classes in colleges or high schools. It will be a form of university extension without the theses and examinations necessary for the earning of credits toward a degree.]

VIII. Provisional Government of Oregon

1. Early Settlers.
   a. Fur hunters.
   b. Seekers for homes and lands.
   c. The Oregon trail.
2. Petitions to Congress.
   a. Seeking recognition and protection of government.
   b. In nature of early census.
3. Death of Ewing Young, Feb. 15, 1841.
   a. Possessing property but no heirs.
   b. Action proposed at the funeral.
   c. Committee to form some sort of government.
   d. Property probated.
   e. Temporary government aabndoned.
4. Wolf Meetings.
   a. Seeking united action.
   b. Multnomah Circulating Library.
   c. Lyceum for debates.
   d. Bounty for destruction of dangerous animals.
   e. Proposal to secure protection for families.
   f. Committee to frame temporary government.
   g. Plan adopted by meeting in Champoeg field.
   h. Legislative committee appointed.
   i. Executive committee of three instead of governor .
5. Reorganization.
   a. Influence of immigration of 1843.
   b. Primitive State House.

c. Earliest laws enacted.
d. Legislative committee beocmes a legislature.
e. Executive commtitee changed to governorship.
f. George Abernethy chosen governor, 1845.
g. Oath of office reveals "joint occupancy."

6. Results.

a. Laws of Iowa Territory adopted.
b. Prohibition.
c. Failure of post-office.
d. Dwelling.
e. Currency, "Beaver Money" in gold.
f. Dominion up to 54-40 north latitude.
g. Federal organization of Oregon Territory, 1848-1849.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.—The above outline covers one of the most interesting portions of Northwestern history. It reveals the natural aptitude of Americans for self-government and shows a natural evolution of a state from settlements of pioneers in a wilderness. The literature on the subject is growing rapidly. The items following are among those most readily accessible to those wishing to pursue the study:

BANCROFT, HUBERT HOWE. Works of. Vol. XXIX, chapters XII, XIV, XVI, XVIII, XIX, XXII, XXVI. Here is found the story of the provisional government told at considerable length.

CLARK, ROBERT CARLTON. How British and American Subjects Unite in a Common Government for Oregon Territory in 1844. In the Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society, Vol. XIII, Number 2.

GROVER, LAFAYETTE. The Oregon Archives. This is a rare book, published in 1853. It contains the early laws of the provisional government and other source materials of prime importance.

HOLMAN, FREDERICK V. Dr. John McLoughlin, the Father of Oregon. While this is intended as a biography of the grand old Doctor, it is a book of much helpfulness to students of this period. At the end of the volume there are nineteen documents illustrative of the text.

JOHNSON, SIDONA V. A Short History of Oregon, Chapters XVIII to XXIII. The title of the book is well chosen, but many may find there the facts needed.

MEANY, EDMOND S. History of the State of Washington. Chapter XVI deals in part with the provisional government while Washington was yet a part of Oregon.

SCHAFER, JOSEPH. History of the Pacific Northwest. In this interesting and useful book, Chapter XIII is entitled "The First American Government on the Pacific."

WOODWARD, WALTER C. Political Parties in Oregon, 1843-1868. This book was published by the J. K. Gill Company of Portland, Oregon, in 1913. It is the newest, as well as the most extensive, work in this particular field. Those who are collecting books on the Northwest should not overlook this one. Anyone studying in the field of the above syllabus will find the book helpful.

George Wilkes: History of Oregon, Geographical, Geological and Political. (New York, Colyer, 1845.)

[The reprint of this rare work was begun in the first number of the Washington Historical Quarterly and has been continued in portions of varying lengths. The installment in this issue concludes the reprinted book. —*Editor.*]

But can such charters be considered an acknowledged part of the law of nations? Were they any thing more, in fact, than a cession to the grantee or grantees of whatever rights the grantor might suppose himself to possess, to the exclusion of other subjects of the same sovereign?—charters binding and restraining those only who were within the jurisdiction of the grantor, and of no force or validity against the subjects of other states, until recognized by treaty, and thereby becoming a part of international law.

Had the United States, thought proper to issue, in 1790, by virtue of their national authority, a charter granting to Mr. Gray the whole extent of the country watered, directly or indirectly, by the River Columbia,* such a charter, would, no doubt, have been valid in Mr. Gray's favor, as against all other citizens of the United States. But can it be supposed that it would have been acquiesced in by either of the powers, Great Britain and Spain, which, in that same year, were preparing to contest by arms the possession of the very country which would have been the subject of such a grant?

If the right of sovereignty over the territory in question accrues to the United States by Mr. Gray's discovery, how happens it that they never protested against the violence done to that right by the two powers, who, by the convention of 1790, regulated their respective rights in and over a district so belonging, as it is now asserted, to the United States?

This claim of the United States to the territory drained by the Columbia and its tributary streams, on the ground of one of their citizens having been the first to discover the entrance of that river, has been here

*These Englishmen are crazy—the Columbia was not discovered by Captain Gray till 1792. If the above is intended as an illustration only, the instance is as weak as the previous arguments are inconclusive.

so far entered into, not because it is considered to be necessarily entitled to notice, since the whole country watered by the Columbia falls within the provisions of the convention of 1790, but because the doctrine above alluded to has been put forward so broadly, and with such confidence, by the United States, that Great Britain considered it equally due to herself and to other powers to enter her protest against it.

The United States further pretend that their claim to the country in question is strengthened and confirmed by the discovery of the sources of the Columbia, and by the exploration of its course to the sea by Lewis and Clarke, in 1805-6.

In reply to this allegation, Great Britain affirms, and can distinctly prove, that, if not before, at least in the same and subsequent years, her North-Western Trading Company had, by means of their agent, Mr. Thomson, already established their posts among the Flat-head and Kootanie tribes, on the head-waters of the northern or main branch of the Columbia, and were gradually extending them down the principal stream of that river; thus giving to Great Britain, in this particular, again, as in the discovery of the mouth of the river, *a title to parity* at least, if not priority, of discovery, as opposed to the United States. It was from those posts, that, having heard of the American establishment forming in 1811, at the mouth of the river, Mr. Thomson hastened thither, descending the river, to ascertain the nature of that establishment.†

Some stress having been laid by the United States on the restitution to them of Fort George by the British, after the termination of the last war, which restitution they represent as conveying a virtual acknowledgment by Great Britain of the title of the United States to the country in which that post was situated—it is desirable to state, somewhat in detail, the circumstances attending that restitution.

In the year 1815, a demand for the restoration of Fort George was first made to Great Britain, by the American government, on the plea that the first article of the treaty of Ghent stipulated the restitution to the United States of all posts and places whatsoever taken from them by the British during the war, in which description, Fort George, (Astoria,) was included.

For some time the British government demurred to comply with the demand of the United States, because they entertained doubts how far it could be sustained by the construction of the treaty.

In the first place, the trading post called Fort Astoria (or Fort George,) was not a national possession; in the second place, it was not a military post; and, thirdly, it was never captured from the Americans by the British.

†We have seen that Mr. Thomson came a year too late.

It was, in fact, conveyed in regular commercial transfer, and accompanied by a bill of sale, for a sum of money, to the British company, who purchased it, by the American company, who sold it of *their own free will.*

It is true that a British sloop of war had, about that time, been sent to take possession of that post, but she arrived subsequently to the transaction above mentioned, between the two companies, and found the British company *already in legal occupation of their self acquired property.*

In consequence, however, of that ship having been sent out with hostile views, althose those views were not carried into effect,* and in order that not even a shadow of a reflection might be cast upon the good faith of the British government, the latter determined to give the most liberal extension to the terms of the treaty of Ghent, and, in 1818, the purchase which the British company had made in 1813 was restored to the United States.

Particular care, however, was taken, on this occasion, to prevent any misapprehension as to the extent of the concession made by Great Britain.

Viscount Castlereagh, in directing the British minister at Washingington to intimate the intention of the British government to Mr. Adams, then secretary of state, uses these expressions, in a despatch dated 4th February, 1818:—

"You will observe, that, whilst this government is not disposed to contest with the American government the point of possession as it stood in the Columbia River at the moment of the rupture, *they are not prepared to admit the validity of the title of the government of the United States to this settlement.*

"In signifying, therefore, to Mr. Adams the full acquiescence of your government in the reoccupation of *the limited position* which the United States held in that river at the breaking out of the war, *you will at the same time assert, in suitable terms, the claim* of Great Britain to that territory, upon which the American settlement must be considered as an encroachment."

This instruction was executed verbally by the person to whom it was addressed.

The following is a transcript of the act by which the fort was delivered up, by the British, into the hand of Mr. Prevost, the American agent:—

*Those views were carried into effect. The place was regularly taken possession of in the king's name on the 1st December, 1813, and the British flag was run up with all the formalities of conquest, in place of the American standard.

"In obedience to the command of H. R. H. the prince regent, *signified in a despatch from the right honorable the Earl Bathurst*, addressed to the partners or agents of the North-West Company, bearing date the 27th of January, 1818, and in obedience to a subsequent order, dated the 26th July, from W. H. Sheriff, Esq., captain of H. M. ship Andromache, We, the undersigned, do, in conformity to the first article of the treaty of Ghent, restore to the government of the United States, through its agent, J. P. Prevost, Esq., the settlement of Fort George, on the Columbia river.

"Given under our hands, in triplicate, at Fort George, (Columbia River,) this 6th day of October, 1818.

"F. HICKEY, *Captain H. M. ship Blossom.*
"J. KEITH, *of the N. W. Co.*"

The following is the despatch from Earl Bathurst to the partners of the North-West Company, referred to in the above act of cession:—

DOWNING-STREET, *27th January*, 1818.

"Intelligence having been received that the United States sloop of war *Ontario* has been sent by the American government to establish a settlement on the Columbia river, which was held by that state, on the breaking out of the last war, I am to acquaint you, that it is the prince regent's pleasure, (*without, however, admitting the right of that government to the possession in question*) that, in pursuance of the first article of the treaty of Ghent, due facility should be given to the reoccupation of the said settlement by the officers of the United States; and I am to desire that you would contribute as much as lies in your power to the execution of his royal highness's command.

"I have, &c. &c.
BATHURST.

"*To the Partners or Agents of the North-West Company, residing on the Columbia river.*"

The above documents put the case of the restoration of Fort Astoria in too clear a light to require further observation.

The case, then of Great Britain, in respect to the country west of the Rocky Mountains, is shortly this:—

Admitting that the United States have acquired all the rights which Spain possessed, up to the treaty of Florida, either in virtue of discovery, or, as is pretended, in right Louisiana, Great Gritain maintains that the nature and extent of those rights, as well as of the rights of Great Britain, are fixed and defined by the convention of Nootka; that these rights are equal for both parties; and that, in succeeding to the rights of Spain,

under that convention, the United States must also have succeeded to the obligations which it imposed.

Admitting, further, the discovery of Mr. Gray, to the extent already stated, Great Britain, taking the whole line of the coast in question, with its straits, harbors and bays, has stronger claims, on the ground of prior discovery, attended with acts of occupancy and settlement, than the United States.

Whether, therefore, the United States rest their claims upon the title of Spain, or upon that of prior discovery, or upon both, Great Britain is entitled to place her claims at least upon a parity with those of the United States.

It is a fact, admitted by the United States, that, with the exception of the Columbia river, there is no river which opens far into the *interior*, on the whole western coast of the Pacific Ocean.

In the *interior* of the territory in question, the subjects of Great Britain have had, for many years, numerous settlements and trading posts—several of these posts on the tributary streams of the Columbia, several upon the Columbia itself, some to the northward, and others to the southward, of that river; and they navigate the Columbia as the sole channel for the conveyance of their produce to the British stations nearest the sea, and for the shipment of it from thence to Great Britain. It is also by the Columbia and its tributary streams that these posts and settlements receive their annual supplies from Great Britain.*

In the whole of the territory in question, the citizens of the United States have not a single settlement or trading post. They do not use that river, either for the purpose of transmitting or receiving any produce of their own, to or from other parts of the world.

In this state of the relative rights of the two countries, and of the relative exercise of those rights, the United States claim the exclusive possession of both banks of the Columbia, and, consequently, that of the river itself; offering, it is true, to concede to British subjects a conditional participation in that navigation, but subject, in any case, to the exclusive jurisdiction and sovereignty of the United States.

Great Britain, on her part, offers to make the river the boundary; each country retaining the bank of the river contiguous to its own territories, and the navigation of it remaining forever free, and upon a footing of perfect equality to both nations.

*Here is an assertion that Great Britain has been accruing title, through the operations of her Hudson's Bay Company, ever since the treaty of 1818. This gives an additional significance to her grant of the civil and criminal jurisdiction of the territory, to that incorporation. It will be well for our readers here to recollect the declaration of our Government made in 1823, that thenceforth no portion of the American Continents were to be considered as subjects for European Colonization.

To carry into effect this proposal, on our part, Great Britain would have to give up posts and settlements south of the Columbia. On the part of the United States, there could be no reciprocal withdrawing from actual occupation, as there is not, and never has been, a single American citizen settled north of the Columbia.

The United States decline to accede to this proposal, even when Great Britain has added to it the further offer of a most excellent harbor, and an extensive tract of country on the Straits of De Fuca—a sacrifice tendered in the spirit of accommodation, and for the sake of a final adjustment of all differences, but which, having been made in this spirit, is not to be considered as in any degree recognizing a claim on the part of the United States, or as at all impairing the existing right of Great Britain over the post and territory in question.

Such being the result of the recent negotiation, it only remains for Great Britain to maintain and uphold the qualified rights which she now possesses over the whole of the territory in question. These rights are recorded and defined in the convention of Nootka. They embrace the right to navigate the waters of those countries, the right to settle in and over any part of them, and the right freely to trade with the inhabitants and occupiers of the same.

These rights have been peaceably exercised ever since the date of that convention; that is, for a period of near forty years. Under that convention, valuable British interests have grown up in those countries. It is fully admitted that the United States possess the same rights, although they have been exercised by them only in a single instance, and have not, since the year 1813, been exercised at all. But beyond these rights they possess none.

To the interests and establishments which British industry and enterprise have created, Great Britain owes protection. That protection will be given, both as regards settlement and freedom of trade and navigation, with every attention not to infringe the coördinate rights of the United States; it being the earnest desire of the British government, so long as the joint occupancy continues, to regulate its own obligations by the same rule which governs the obligations of any other occupying party.

Fully sensible, at the same time, of the desirablenes of a more definite settlement, as between Great Britain and the United States, the British government will be ready, at any time, to terminate the present state of joint occupancy by an agreement of delimitation; but such arrangement only can be admitted as shall not derogate from the rights of Great Britain, as acknowledged by treaty, nor prejudice the advantages which British subjects, under the same sanction, now enjoy in that part of the world.

(No. 7.)

Convention between the United States and Great Britain, signed at London, October 20th, 1818.

ARTICLE 2.—It is agreed that a line drawn from the most north-western point of the Lake of the Woods, along the 49th parallel of north latitude, or, if the said point shall not be in the 49th parallel of north latitude, then that a line drawn from the said point due north or south, as the case may be, until the said line shall intersect the said parallel of north latitude, and from the point of such intersection due west along and, with the said parallel, shall be the line of demarkation between the territories of the United States and those of his Britannic majesty; and that the said line shall form the northern boundary of the said territories of the United States, and the southern boundary of the territories of his Britannic Majesty, from the Lake of the Woods to the Stony Mountains.

ART. 3.—It is agreed that any country that may be claimed by either party on the north-west coast of America, westward of the Stony Mountains, shall, together with its harbors, bays, and creeks, and the navigation of all rivers within the same, be free and open for the term of ten years from the date of the signature of the present convention, to the vessels, citizens, and subjects, of the two powers; it being well understood that this agreement is not to be construed to the prejudice of any claim which either of the two high contracting parties may have to any part of the said country, nor shall it be taken to affect the claims of any other power or state to any part of the said country; the only object of the high contracting parties, in that respect, being to prevent disputes and differences among themselves.

(No. 8.)

The Florida Treaty, signed at Washington, February 22d, 1819...

ARTICLE 3.—The boundary line between the two countries west of the Mississippi shall begin on the Gulf of Mexico, at the mouth of the River Sabine, in the sea, continuing north, along the western bank of that river, to the 32d degree of latitude; thence, by a line due north, to the degree of latitude where it strikes the Rio Roxo of Natchitoches, or Red River; then, following the course of the Rio Roxo westward, to the degree of longtitude 100 west from London and 23 from Washington; then crossing the said Red River, and running thence, by a line due north, to the River Arkansas; thence following the course of the southern bank of the Arkansas, to its source in latitude 42 north; and thence, by that parallel

of latitude, to the South Sea; the whole being as laid down in Melish's map of the United States, published at Philadelphia, improved to the 1st of January, 1818. But, if the source of the Arkansas River shall be found to fall north or south of latitude 42, then the line shall run from the said source due south or north, as the case may be, till it meets the said parallel of latitude 42, and thence, along the said parallel, to the South Sea; all the isands in the Sabine, and the said Red and Arkansas Rivers, throughout the course thus described, to belong to the United States; but the use of the waters and the navigation of the Sabine to the sea, and of the said Rivers Roxo and Arkansas, throughout the extent of the said boundary, on their respective banks, shall be common to the respective inhabitants of both nations.

The two high contracting parties agree to cede and renounce all their rights, claims, and pretensions, to the territories described by said line; that is to say, the United States hereby cede to his Catholic Majesty, and renounce forever, all their rights, claims, and pretensions, to the territories lying west and south of the above-described line; and, in like manner, his Catholic Majesty cedes to the said United States all his rights, claims, and pretensions, to any territories east and north of the said line; and for himself, his heirs, and successors, renounces all claim to the said territories forever.

(No. 9)

Convention between the United States and Great Britain, signed at London, August 6th, 1827.

ARTICLE I. All the provisions of the third article of the convention concluded between the United States of America and his majesty the king of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, on the 20th of October, 1818, shall be, and they are hereby, further indefinitely extended and continued in force, in the same manner as if all the provisions of the said article were herein specificially recited.

ART. 2. It shall be competent, however, to either of the contracting parties, in case either should think fit, at any time after the 20th of October, 1828, on giving due notice of twelve months to the other contracting party, to annul and abrogate this convention; and it shall, in such case, be accordingly entirely annulled and abrogated, after the expiration of the said term of notice.

ART. 3. Nothing contained in this convention, or in the third article of the convention of the 20th October, 1818, hereby continued in force, shall be constructed to impair, or in any manner affect, the claims

which either of the contracting parties may have to any part of the country westward of the Stony or Rocky Mountains.

(No. 10.)

The Instructions of the Merchant Proprietors, to John Meares:

"****Should you, in the course of your voyage, meet with any Russian, *English*, or Spanish vessels, you will treat them with civility and friendship, and allow them, if authorized, to examine your papers, which will show the object of your voyage. But you must, at the same time, guard against surprise. Should they attempt to seize you, or even carry you out of your way, you will prevent it by every means in your power, and repel force by force. You will on your arrival in the first port, protest before a proper officer against such illegal procedure; and ascertain as nearly as you can the value of your vessel and cargo, sending such protest, with a full account of the transaction, to us at China. Should you in such conflict have the superiority, you will then take possession of the vessel that attacked you, as also her cargo, and bring both, with the officers and crew to China, that they may be condemned as legal prizes and their crews punished as pirates. Wishing you a prosperous voyage, etc.

(Signed) "THE MERCHANT PROPRIETORS."

The Washington Historical Quarterly

Board of Editors

CLARENCE B. BAGLEY, Seattle.
J. N. BOWMAN, Seattle.
T. C. ELLIOTT, Walla Walla.
FRANK A. GOLDER, Pullman.
CEYLON S. KINGSTON, Cheney.
W. D. LYMAN, Walla Walla.
EDWARD MCMAHON, Seattle.
THOMAS W. PROSCH, Seattle.
OLIVER H. RICHARDSON, Seattle.
O. B. SPERLIN, Tacoma.
E. O. S. SCHOLEFIELD, Victoria, B. C.
ALLEN WEIR, Olympia.

Managing Editor
EDMOND S. MEANY

Business Manager
CHARLES W. SMITH

VOL. V NO. 2 APRIL, 1914

ISSUED QUARTERLY

Contents

T. C. ELLIOTT . . . . . Journal of John Work, June-October, 1825 83
ANNA SLOAN WALKER . . . . . History of the Liquor Laws of the State of Washington 116
RALPH R. KNAPP . . . . . Divorce in Washington 121
DOCUMENTS—A New Vancouver Journal 129
BOOK REVIEWS 138
NEWS DEPARTMENT 152
NORWESTERN HISTORY SYLLABUS 156
HISTORY TEACHERS' SECTION 158

THE WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY
STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY
UNIVERSITY STATION
SEATTLE, WASHINGTON

Entered at the postoffice at Seattle as second-class mail matter.

The Washington University State Historical Society

Officers and Board of Trustees:

CLARENCE B. BAGLEY, President

JUDGE JOHN P. HOYT, Vice-President

JUDGE ROGER S. GREENE, Treasurer

PROFESSOR EDMOND S. MEANY, Secretary

JUDGE CORNELIUS H. HANFORD

JUDGE THOMAS BURKE

SAMUEL HILL

PRINTING DEPARTMENT UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON

Vol. V., No. 2 *April, 1914*

The Washington Historical Quarterly

JOURNAL OF JOHN WORK, JUNE-OCTOBER, 1825

(Introduction and annotations by T. C. Elliott.)

Readers of the Washington Historical Quarterly have already become acquainted with Mr. John Work, an officer of the Hudson's Bay Company, through his previous journal—with introductory note—published in Volume III, pp. 198-228, recording the details of the journey of an expedition from Fort George on the Columbia river to the Fraser river and back in November-December, 1824, (in which he remarked among other things about the "weighty rain" common to the Coast and Puget Sound localities). Mr. Work's particular duties during January-May, 1825, we do not know; this was the period during which Governor Simpson and Chief Factor John McLoughlin selected the site for Fort Vancouver and the headquarters were removed from Fort George (Astoria) to the new location, which was on the high ground east of the present city of Vancouver, Washington, where the buildings of the Washington (State) Asylum for the Blind and Deaf now stand. Governor Simpson returned up the Columbia river in March, 1825, with the Express bound for York Factory on Hudson's Bay, but events indicate that he already had learned to place much confidence in the young clerk John Work. In June, Mr. Work finds himself assigned to duty in the interior and accompanies the "brigade" of officers and voyagers under Mr. John McLeod returning up the river with goods for the trade at the various interior forts. Mr. McLeod was then stationed at Thompson River (Kamloops) but had been given leave to return across the mountains to Hudson's Bay the following spring.

Readers of the "three synoptical writers of Astoria," as Dr. Elliott Coues designates Gabriel Franchere, Alexander Ross and Ross Cox, have had occasion perhaps to tire of the narratives of successive journeys up and down the Columbia river with the constant encounters with the Indians at the Cascades and Dalles portages. In this journal we have another account of the same journey and discover that with the education of the

Indians of the Columbia to the fixed and just policy of the Northwest and Hudson's Bay Companies in their trade relations, the hatred and distrust and armed resistance of these Indians has already ceased to a great extent and that only the natural disposition to pilfer has to be taken much into account.

Between June 21st and November 1st, 1825, the period covered by part of this journal, Mr. Work journeys many miles and introduces us to the regular lines of travel of the fur traders between their forts in Washington, Northern Idaho and Montana and to some of the routine life of the forts. He visits the Nez Perces at their trading ground where the City of Lewiston, Idaho, now stands, the Flatheads at the spot where the large power plant is now being erected below Thompson Falls, Montana, and the then active Fort Okanogan, Washington, at the mouth of that river where now there is only barren waste; but his headquarters were at Spokane House, then as now the trade center for all the "Inland Empire." He also tells of the very beginning of building and planting at Kettle Falls, where the most important of the interior trading posts, Fort Colvile, was just being started. Only the first part of the entire journal is given in this issue and the remainder is to be presented in a later number of the Quarterly, and then to be followed by a second journal of the same writer.

For brief mention of Mr. Work's career the reader is referred to the earlier number of this Quarterly—already cited, and to page 464 of Volume II of H. H. Bancroft's History of the Northwest Coast. It is sufficient to say here that Mr. Work was of Irish descent, the name being properly spelled Wark, and that he remained in the service of the Hudson's Bay Company continuously up to the time of his death at Victoria, B. C., in 1861. This journal comes to us through his descendants and is now deposited as a part of the archives of British Columbia, and Mr. Scholefield, the Provincial Archivist, has kindly compared this copy for publication. The journal has never before been published and does not appear to have been examined or used by Hubert Howe Bancroft, who had access to others of the Work journals in the preparation of his series of histories.

The parenthetical marks are used to designate words that are doubtful by reason of the original manuscripts being blurred or faded.

T. C. Elliott.

JOURNAL.

June 21, 1825.

Drizzling rain with some weighty showers. Very little wind.

At 10 o'clock the Interior brigade, consisting of five boats carrying pieces and manned by 32 men, left Fort Vancouver under the charge of

Mr. McLeod.[1] A sixth boat and 12 men under the charge of Mr. McKay[2] accompanied the Brigade as a convoy to above the Chutes.[3] The water is very high and the current strong. Encamped at 4 o'clock opposite Quick Sand River.[4] We stopped at this early hour to get some of the boats which were badly gummed. Some of the pieces were put in Mr. McKay's boat to lighten the others.

Being ordered to proceed to Spokane in charge of the outfit for that place, I accompany the brigade.

Wed.y. 22

Drizzling rain forenoon. Wind W.

Embarked at 3 o'clock and reached the Cascades at 1, had to carry at the New Portage,[5] everything was got half way across the Portage by 5 oclock when the men were employed gumming the boats. There were a good many Indians, but they were very quiet, 60 to 70 salmon were purchased from them, principally for Tobacco, at an inch per salmon.

Thursday 23

Dry weather, blowing fresh from the N. W.

Resumed carrying at 3 oclock and by 6 everything was embarked at the upper end of the portage, where we proceeded up the river under saill with a fine strong wind till 12 oclock when we put ashore a little below Cape Horn,[6] Mr. McLeod considering it too rough to proceed.

Friday 24

Dry weather a fine breeze from the N. W.

Continued our journey at a little past 3 oclock with a nice sail wind and reached the lower end of the Dalles about two and got boats & foods about half way across the portage. We were detained more than two hours at breakfast below the portage, as Mr. McKay left his boat with two men, and the pieces had to be put in the other boats. On approaching the Dalls the current was very strong and the boats being deep laden it was difficult getting them up. My boat was caught in a whirlpool and very near sunk, she was wheeled around three times before the men got her out. There are a good many Indians on the portage we reckon from 400 to 500, however they were very peaceable. Gave them a little

1 JohnMcLeod, Senior, stationed at Thompson river or Kamloops. Consult "Peace River," by Archibald McDonald, for his career.

2 Probably Charles McKay, son of Alex McKay who was blown up with the Tonquin, and step-son of Dr. John McLoughlin.

3 Celilo, or the Falls of the Columbia, above The Dalles.

4 The Sandy river, Multnomah County, Oregon; camp being near Washougal on opposite shore.

5 Portage around the Cascades on north bank, where railroad portage was built in later years.

6 The Upper Cape Horn, below Klickitat river; see Wilkes' Map of Oregon.

Tobacco to smoke and bought as much salmon as we required at equally as low a price as at the Cascades.

Satd.y. 25

Clear very warm weather a little wind up the river in the morning but calm afterwards.

Recommenced carrying at ½ past 2 oclock, had everything across the portage[7] & embarked at 6, and were across the Chutes by 11. The portage at the Chutes was short on account of the high water. Encamped at 6 in the evening a little below Day's River,[8] to gum the boats. We lost nearly 2 hours at breakfast below the Chutes. We reckoned 150 to 200 Indians at the Chutes, they were very quiet. Gave them to smoke and also about an inch of Tobacco each when we were coming off. Mr. McKay & Mr. Douglas,[9] with the convoy men left us at the upper end of the Chutes to return to Fort Vancouver.

Sunday 26

Clear weather little breeze of wind from the N. W. in the morning and evening, but calm and very warm in the middle of the day.

Continued our journey a little past 3 oclock and encamped at 7 in the evening. Were detained 2 hours gumming the boats.- had the sails up while the wind lasted in the morning and evening. A good many Indians along the river.

Monday 27.

Clear, a fine breeze up the River in the morning but calm and insufferably warm afterwards.

Embarked a little before 3 oclock, passed the lower end of the Big Island[10] at ½ past 4 and encamped at 6 to gum one of the boats, we were also detained 1½ hours in the day gumming.

Tuesday 28

Clear very warm weather, a little breeze of wind down the river which prevented the heat from being so oppressive as yesterday.

Continued our route before 3 o'clock and encamped late a little above the Grand Rapid.[11] In ascending a piece of strong current doubling a point in the evening, two of the boats got aground and sustained some injury, one of them put ashore & gummed, the other went on to the

7 This was the long portage of about 4½ miles from Big Eddy to the upper end of Ten Mile rapids. From here they used their boats to the Falls, or Chutes, where again carried boats and goods a short distance. Here was the "Wishram" village of Washington Irving. See "Astoria."

8 John Day river, Oregon side.

9 David Douglas, the English botanist, who was then on the Columbia. Consult Oregon Historical Quarterly, Vol. 5, pp. 218 and 245-6-7.

10 Now known as Blalock Island but more often referred to by the fur traders as the Long Island; opposite Cayote station of O.-W. R. & N. Ry.

11 The Umatilla rapids, above mouth of Umatilla river, Oregon side.

encampment, & had not time to repair. Traded some beaver from the Indians along the River.

Wed.y. 29

Clear weather and notwithstanding there was a nice breeze down the river the heat was oppressive.

We were detained gumming the boat till near 5 o'clock when we embarked and proceeded to Fort Nez Perces[12] where we remained at 12 o'clock and had boats immediately unloaded, and the cargoes examined. These were landed here from the five boats independent of the gentlemen and mens private baggage 262 pieces, viz. (Laments) boat Mr. McLeod passenger 47 pieces,—Ignace's boat J. Work passenger 52 pieces.—P. La (Course's ?) boat, Mr. Dease passenger 53 pieces.—Grosse (Chalon's ?) boat 55 pieces and Thomas Tagouche's boat 55 pieces.

Thursday 30th.

Notwithstanding it blew strong from the N. W. the heat was oppressive, the sand, and wood about the fort were absolutely burning. in the evening there was a great deal of thunder and lightening with heavy squalls of wind and a few drops of rain, the wind sometimes quite hot.

Mr. McLeod occupied the greater part of this day separating the pieces belonging to the different posts.

July 1825 Friday 1

Blowing strong from the N. W.

A party having to make a trip up the South branch[13] to trade horses, (150 if possible,) the forenoon was occupied in making up an assortment of goods for that purpose and a ½ past 1 o'clock Mr. Dease accompanied by Mr. Dears,[14] myself and 28 men, embarked in two boats and proceeded to a little up the South branch where we encamped for the night.—Several Indians were about the entrance of the river, purchased a few salmon from them, mostly small ones at about 2 inches of tobacco each.—Our boats are very light laden, and the men well armed.

Mr. McLeod & 10 men remain at the Fort.

Satd.y. 2

Clear, and notwithstanding a pleasant breeze from the N. W., very warm.

[12] Also called Fort Walla Walla, built in July-Aug., 1818, by Donald McKenzie & Alex. Ross; consult "Fur Hunters of the Far West," chaptres 6 & 7 and frontispiece for picture of the Fort. Location 1-1/2 miles west of Wallula, of present day.

[13] South branch of the Columbia, that is the Snake river.

[14] Mr. Thos. Dears, a clerk of the H. B. Co., but not attached to any special Post. Mr. J. W. Dease, a Chief Trader, was then in charge of Fort Nez Perces.

Embarked at 3 oclock and pursued our journey up the river till past 6 when we encamped for the night. Made a good days march, as the men worked constant and very hard.—The current was uniformly very strong, and the water high, though it has fallen at least 1½ or 2 feet from its greatest height this season.—The shores are generally high, some places steep rocks, at others undulating hills, the vegetation on which seems to be burnt up with the heat and has a barren appearance. Here and there along the river, bushes and grass appear green, having not been deprived of moisture.

Passed several Indian lodges and traded 42 fresh and 9 dry salmon for 1½ yards of Tobacco. The salmon are all of a small size.

Sunday 3

Clear excessive warm weather though there was a little breeze of wind from the N. W. the heat was oppressive.

Continued our journey at 3 clock and encamped at the Flag River[15] at 2. There are a few lodges of Indians here who have some horses two of which were purchased from them at 15 skins each. these are the first horses we have seen in this river.

The general appearance of the river the same as yesterday, the shores high and clearer. The general course of the river from its entrance to this place may be about N. E. a little above its entrance it takes a considerable turn to the Eastward and thus bends back to the Westward a little below the Flag River.—From this place to Spokane[16] is about 1½ days march on horseback. Nez Perces is about the same distance.

Monday 4

Clear very warm weather, the heat was suffocating.

Expecting that the Indians would bring some more horses to trade we delayed embarking till 8 oclock when we proceeded up the river a short distance where we put ashore at an Indian lodge and bought a horse, which detained us a considerable time.—Two men rode the horses along shore—made but a short days march. The heat and plenty of musquitos which were very troublesome, allowed us to have but little sleep last night. Encamped past 6 oclock.

The current still very strong, the general course of the river from a little above Flag River a little more to the Eastward. Not many Indians on the river and but few horses to be seen.

15 The Palouse river of today; the Drewyer's river of Lewis and Clark, and known to the fur traders also as Pavion and Pavilion river.

16 Spokane House, about 100 miles northward; see Ross Cox' "Adventures" etc for an account of this trail to the Spokane river.

Tuesday 5

Clear a good breeze of wind up teh river which made the heat more supportable than these days past.—The current very strong, course of the river nearly E. the shores high with some times a low point, all parched up with the excessive heat, here there some bushes that are green are to be seen along the shores and in the little valleys or creeks.

Embarked at 3 oclock and encamped a little below the La Monte. Made a very short days march as we delayed a good deal along the river at Indian lodges, bought 3 young horses at 18 skins each.

The Indians inform us that a large party went off to Spokane yesterday, and that the Flat Heads and (Pendius ?)[17] have been with the Indians above and bought a number of horses from them.

Wed.y. 6

Stormy in the night and blowing fresh all day, Wind N. W.

In order to get some salmon from the Indians, delayed embarking till 8 oclock when we proceeded up the river, to La Monte[18] where we encamped at 10—This is a place of rendezvouse for the Indians but only one lodge is here at present, the others are all off in the plains digging camass. Some Indians were sent off with Tobacco for the Natives to smoke & to apprise them that we were here & would remain a few days to purchase horses from them, and that we would then proceed to the Forks[19] so that such of the Indians as are in that neighborhood may be there to meet us.

Thursday 7

Cloudy blowing fresh from the N. W.—pleasant cool weather.

Several Indians of different tribes arrived at our camp from whom ten horses were traded, 15 to 18 skins each. The most of these horses are young not more than 3 years old and some of them very small. It would have been desirable to get ones of larger size, but the great number required renders it necessary to take such as can be got and not be too choice.

Friday 8

Weather as yesterday.

Trade going on very slowly. A few Indians visited the camp, but only 6 horses were traded one of which was a wild one and was immediately killed for the people. The Natives seem not eager to part with their

17 Meaning the Pend d'Oreille Indians.

18 Almota Whitman county, Wash., always a favorite Indian camping place, and meaning the hilly or mountainous stream or place. Lewis and Clark camped here Oct. 11th, 1805 and mention the Indian houses described by John Work a little further on in this text.

19 That is, the junction of the Snake and Clearwater rivers.

horses.—Generally young small ones are offered for sale, yet some of those purchased today are good stout horses.—The articles generally paid for a horse are a blanket, 3 pt, 6 skins, 4 or 5 skins, 1 yd. each of green beads, a few skins of ammunition, a skin of Tobacco, a knife, and sometimes, Buttons and Rings a skin or two.

Satd.y. 9

Cloudy Warm weather, Wind variable, not blowing so much as these days past.

A few more Indians visited us but only 4 horses were traded & two of these are young ones not broke in. We learn from the Ind.s. that the natives above are collecting on the River to meet us.

The Indians at our camp occupy the most of their time gambling. The River is falling very fast, the water is lowered four to 5 feet perpendicular since it has been at its height this season.

Sunday 10

Though a fresh breeze from the Eastward the weather was very warm and sultry.

In expectation that the Indians would trade some more horses we delayed embarking till one oclock when we proceeded up the River, seeing that nothing further was to be done. Stopped at the Indian lodges as we passed and bought two unbroken in young horses one of which a beautiful animal, lept so when he was haltered & the man not managing him properly that he tumbled on his head & broke his neck.

The current continues very strong the course of the river from E. to S. E. The appearance of the country continues much the same, the bank very high & mostly rocky, the smooth summits & sides of the hills clothed with dry grass, burnt up with the heat, here and there along the water edge and in some of the deep valleys or coves tufts of willow and poplars, and a few bushes of other kinds. Though the hills and valleys, except on the faces of the steep rocks are well clothed with vegetation nearly dried up, the country has altogether a barren appearance.

The Indians live (in) sort of houses or lodges constructed of drift wood split & set on end, they are generally high and very large and inhabited by a great many Indians, I counted upwards of fifty at one house the dimensions of which were 40 yards long and 10 wide. These houses are generally high and flat roofed, the one side is occupied by the inhabitants who sit and sleep on the ground, and the other side is appropriated for drying fish which are hung up generally in two tiers the one above the other the lower ones so near the ground that one has to stoop to get under them.—The air has a free circulation through these habitations from the

openness of their walls, which makes them cool & comfortable when there is the least air of wind, but in case of rain, from the openness of the roof, very little would be excluded. However, this is an article that seldom troubles them.

The Natives along the River now are generally employed curing salmon and collecting camass.

Monday 11

Cloudy but occasionally very warm Wind Easterly.

Waiting till the Indians would bring us some horses to trade deterred us from embarking till 8 clock when seeing that only one horse could be traded, we proceeded up the river and as usual stopped to smoke at the most of the lodges which we passed which made our progress very slow, however only one horse was purchased till we encamped in the evening when four more were traded, making in all six today.

The appearance of the River and country much the same as yesterday. The course from E. to S. E. The hills along shore appear less elevated towards evening. The Indians near whom we are encamped offered a sturgeon for sale, which shows that these fish ascend this high.

Tuesday 12

Cloudy blowing fresh from the Westward.

The Indians traded two more Horses which detained us till after breakfast when we proceeded up the River till 11 oclock when we encamped a little below the Forks at the lodge of an Ind.[20] called Charly where a good many Indians are expected to assemble. About 70 men collected to smoke in the course of the afternoon. Two horses were traded from them which makes 4 today.

Charly is considered to have a good deal of influence among the natives. A present was therefore made him and he afterward harangued the Indians from which good effects are expected tomorrow.

Wed.y. 13

Though cloudy part of the day, the weather was very warm and sultry.

A brisk trade of horses commenced in the morning and 15 were purchased during the day, the greater part of which were bought before breakfast. They are much finer horses and the prices rather lower than those procurred below.—Horses are more numerous and much better here than in the lower part of the river.—There were not so many Indians with

[20] Red Wolf crossing of the Snake river, at mouth of Alpowa creek Garfield county, Washington. Col. E. J. Steptoe's expedition crossed here in the year 1858 on its disastrous expedition.

us today as yesterday, but they had more horses. The Indians who visit us are of four different tribes, Chapoples[21] or Nezperces, Pelooshis,[22] Carooris and Wallawallas. They are very peaceable but a good deal of Tobacco is required to keep them smoking.—They amuse themselves gambling in the evening they had a horse race.

In the course of the day a message was received from some Indians further up the river, requesting us to go to their place, and more horses would be procured. It seems a kind of jealousy exists among the natives and the one party does not wish to sell their horses at the camp of the other, or that they wish to have the honour of being visited at their own camp.

Thursd.y. 14

Very little Wind, excessively warm, where we are encamped on the stony sandy beach we are literally next to be roasted.

The trade did not go on so briskly as yesterday, only 8 horses were bought, one of which was an unbroken in lame mare to kill, as she was fit for nothing else.

Friday 15

Sometimes a little breeze of wind from the S. E. yet it was clear and so sultry that the heat was oppresive.

Embarked at half past 5 oclock proceeded up the river and in 2 hours arrived at the Forks[23] and encamped on the E. side of the North branch where a few Indians are encamped shortly after we arrived about 40 of them with the old chief Cut Nose at their head visited us in form, smoked, and were presented with about 3 inches of tobacco each. A trade of horses was immediately commenced and 8 very good ones were soon bought from them, though these people have plenty of horses yet they say they have none, they mean probably that they can spare. This is not Cut Nose's camp, it is farther up this branch.

In the afternoon a party of upwards of 100 men and a good many women on horseback with the son of broken or cut arm, as chief at their head, arrived down the S. branch. the Chief immediately on his arrival presented a horse to Mr. Dease, and received a gun, 6 yds. of Beads & Tobacco and ammunition 27 skins as a present in return. After smoaking and getting about 3 Inches of Tobacco for each of his people, a trade for horses was opened and 5 very good ones were soon bought which with the one presented and the eight bought in the forenoon make 14 that have

21 John Work's corruption of the Indian family name Shahaptin

22 The Palouse and the Cayuse tribes. Not unlike Lewis and Clark Mr. Work was "something of a speller."

23 Where Lewiston, Idaho, now stands. See page 128 of Vol. 2 of "Trail of Lewis & Clark" (Wheeler) for photo and description of this site.

been procured to day. These are the best horses we have got yet, they are 18 to 20 skins each.

There is a little short of 200 Indians about our camp now, several of those from below accompany us as we advance up, and those encamped here with the band that arrived from the S. branch make about the above number. they are very quiet and peaceable for so far.

The country about the Forks is flatter and the hills not so abrupt as farther down. The South branch[24] falls in from the Southward, and the North one from the S. E. the waters of these latter are quite clear, while those of the other are white and muddy the North branch seems not so large as the other, nor does not discharge such a body of water. It may be about 250 to 300 yards wide.

Charlie the chief who accompanied us from our last encampment crossed the river with a horse, and in swimming back either was seized or pretended to be seized with a cramp & called out for assistance. Some of the Indians brought him ashore, where he became very ill and got little better, though at his own request he got 2 or 3 drams, untill evening when he thought he would be the better of an airing and got the men to paddle him in a boat up and down the river and sing at the same time, which must considerably contribute, no doubt, to the recovery of his health. —This man may have some influence among the Indians at least to do injury, but he is undoubtedly an artful knave.

Saturday 16

Cloudy, a storm of thunder with squalls of wind from the Westward and a little rain in the afternoon, last night there was a violent storm of thunder & a great deal of lightening, with squalls of wind and some rain.

A Brisk trade commenced in the morning and 19 horses were bought during the day, they are generally good ones and cost mostly 20 skins each.

At noon (Tawerishewa) arrived at the head of a troup of 64 men and several women with plenty of horses from up the North branch. After smoaking and each of his people being presented with a piece of Tobacco he presented a fine horses to Mr. Dease and received a present of different articles to the amount of 32 skins in return.—The other chief now here seems not to be fond of this man on account of his being a doctor or medicine chief.

On account of our articles of trade falling short we will not be able to answer these people's expectations in the way of Trade.

[24] That is, the Snake river proper but designated by Lewis and Clark as the Kimooenim, while the Clearwater from the S. E. was the Kooskooske.

Sunday 17

Cloudy, gusts of wind from the Westward. A heavy thunder storm with strong wind and some rain in the afternoon.

Commenced trading after breakfast & bought horses during the day, four horses were presented during the day by principal men of (Taweri-shewa's) band, but they were dearer than if they had been traded on account of the quantity of articles that had to be presented in return. The most of the horses purchased today are very fine ones and cost mostly 20 skins each.

Our articles of trade got short or we would have got more horses. Green Beads, Tobacco and blankets are entirely gone, several blankets were borrowed from the men. The last band of Indians that arrived were considerably disappointed by these articles being nearly gone when they came.

There are about our camp near 250 or 300 Indians. they are very quiet and give us very little trouble, they occasionally get a little tobacco to smoak. They pass the greater part of their time gambling, horseracing & foot racing.

We have traded 112 horses, 5 of which have been killed. A fine young white one was drowned crossing the river today.

Monday 18

Cloudy pleasant weather not too warm. Wind Westerly.

Our trade being finished and everything ready, we took leave of our friendly Indians and I and six men and an Indian Charlie as a guide, set out with 106 horses across land to Spokane at ½ past 8 o'clock. two of the horses which were traded had got lame and were not able to start.— We were detained two hours waiting for Charlie who delayed after us to make some arrangements with his family. On account of this delay and not being able to drive quick as one of the finest horses in the band (Mr. Dease's) being lame which I did not perceive till after we were off, we made but a short days' march.

We passed through a fine country the course from N. to N. W. On leaving the river ranges of high hills had to be ascended[25], the country then was not level but a continual succession of little rising hills or hummocks and valleys destitute of trees or bushes except along the margins of little brooks, but pretty well clothed with grass and other plants though rather dried and parched, in some of the valleys along little rivers there are a few trees and bushes besides different plants of an uncommonly luxuriant growth.

[25] A very correct description of "Lewiston Hill" and of the famous Palouse country beyond. Travelers by stage over that road all remember it. Mr. Dease evidently returned direct to Fort Walla Walla by the river.

A Ridge[26] of high land runs along at a short distance to the Eastward, thinly wooded, close to a point of this wooded land is a beautiful situation at a litle spring of water. we encamped in the evening at about five oclock having to wait for one of the men who remained behind with the lame horse.—Though the country was dry yet water was to be found at short intervals the most of the day.

Five Indians with 8 horses also on the way to Spokane joined us in the day & kept company with us. In the evening we passed a party of women with a number of horses going off to the plains to collect horses.

My object in accompanying the horses besides seeing them taken care of principally is to visit Spokane, see how affairs stand there and consult with Mr. Birnie as to the practicability of getting all the property, etc., removed at once to the Kettle Falls so that the whole may be there by the time the boats arrive, by which means the trading parties to the Flat Heads and Kootenais could be sent off immediately and meet the Indians at a proper season or at least as early as possible, while the remainder of the people, when two establishments are not to be kept up, could be advantageously employed at the building of the new establishment. This is the only plan which will enable us to accomplish the objects of removing to the new Fort and attending their trading excursions at this advanced season without material injury to the trade. In order to enable us to put the above plan in execution I got Mr. Dease prevailed upon to supply Spokane with 11 Pack Horses which are certainly very few considering that there are only eight at Spokane, and there is little prospect of being able to hire any from the Indians as removing the Fort is likely to be disagreeable to them.—I have also brought two men intended to be left at Spokane to assist. I also wished much that Mr. Dears should accompany me for the same purpose, so that he might proceed to the Kettle Falls & remain in charge of the property with one man while the transportation of the property was going on, but Mr. Dease would not consent to his coming lest Mr. McLeod would not be satisfied, as he would not have any one to assist him in taking up the boats from Wallawalla to Okanogan. He certainly needed no assistance to conduct these boats well manned, when little danger is to be apprehended from the Indians.—I represented these things to Mr. Dease but it had no effect. I also pointed out the inadequacy of the number of horses, but as he had orders to procure a certain number for New Caledonia and Thompson's River, and no mention made of any to Spokane, 11 besides 2 saddle horses were all he could give, after

[26] The regular Indian trail northward followed the line between Washington and Idaho, generally speaking; consult Manring's "Conquest of Coeur D'Alene, Spokane & Palouse Indians" for this.

completing the numbers for the other places, and depending on his own Fort for 60 for the Snake Country.

In case the above plans are found to be practicable I intend to proceed on to Okanogan to receive the Spokane and Rocky Mountain, outfits and accompany the boats to the Kettle Falls.

One or two more men were also requested but they could not be granted lest Mr. McLeod would have too few to take up three boats, though there are 23 for that purpose, of which number 2 certainly might have been spared.

Tuesday 19

Cloudy pleasant weather, Wind Westerly.

Proceeded on our journey at an early hour but in consequence of having to delay & drive generally very slow waiting for the lame horse, we made but a short days march and encamped late in the evening at a small River or rather sort of swamp. In the morning we crossed the Flag River. —The lame horse gave up in the afternoon and with reluctance I was obliged to leave him at a spring in a little valley with plenty of grass about it. he seems to be otherwise diseased besides the lameness, his near foreleg is swelled, the outerfilm of the skin and hair is come off his breast in the shape of a horses foot, where probably he has received a blow. before leaving him Charlie scarified his foot, he will be sent for if possible.

The country through which we passed today has much the same appearance as that passed yesterday and the course nearly the same. Though the horses have not been driven hard yet some of them are getting fatigued, many of them are getting very lean.—Last night as the night before the horses were watched all night by 3 men at a time.

Wed.y. 20

Weather cloudy, but sultry and oppressively warm by turns. These two nights past were very cold which is a great change from the excessive heat experienced some time back. This is probably owing to our being in the vicinity of the high land.

Set out on our journey early in the morning and got out of the plains into the woods about ½ past 7 oclock. At 4 oclock I left 4 of the men (C. Gregoire,) (A. Laparde,) (I. Levant) and (J. Maria) at the fork[27] of the road that branches off to Okanogan, and proceeded to Spokane with 2 men and 16 horses, 12 for this post and 4 with which I am to go to Okanogan. One of them knocked up by the way & had to be left to be sent for tomorrow. As the horses were fatigued I ordered the men to

[27] Probably near Phileo Lake between Spangle and Cheney, Spokane county, Washington.

encamp and allow the horses the evening to rest, and to march at a very slow rate for the future. I left them with 89 horses but one of them was so much jaded that it could not be expected to be able to march. I therefore ordered it to be left and it would be sent for tomorrow.—Arrived at Spokane[28] at 7 oclock and found Mr. Birnie and his people all well. The country through which we passed today as we advanced towards the woods and in the woods was in places very stony which was not often the case these past days. Water was also scarcer than hitherto.

Thursd.y. 21

Clear very warm weather.

Employed this day examining the property to be transported to the Kettle Falls and find that the whole amounts to 254 pieces including trading goods, provisions, stores & sundries. Mr. Birnie has been actively & diligently employed during the summer, & has almost the whole tied up and ready to put on horseback.—Had Mr. Dears been permitted to accompany me I could have returned to Okanogan with an Indian, and the transportation of the property might have commenced immediately as Mr. Dears with one man could have remained in charge of the property at Kettle falls. But now as the horses which I brought with me must be returned to Okanogan and it being necessary that I should be at that place to receive the goods and to accompany the boats up, and no one being here to spare to take charge of the goods at the Kettle falls, and leave enough to remain here with Mr. Birnie and attend to the horses on the voyage, the conveying the property must be deferred until Mr. Dease and some men can be sent from Okanogan and the first trip will be at the Kettle Falls by the time the boats arrive.—From the dislike the Indians have to the removal of the Fort, of which they have heard some vague reports, which they seem unwilling to believe, there is reason to apprehend that no assistance will be received from them in the horse way which will very much retard our business, as the number of horses which we have, about 34, will be a long time of conveying all these pieces.

Mr. Birnie for so far has been pretty successful in the trade of provisions, appichimens & saddls, and about a dozen of horses the latter at a much cheaper rate than those purchased in the Nezperces River. But the returns in furs are far short of those of last year at this season the Indians from different places have done very little.—The garden looks remarkably well, the potatoes are bigger than eggs. Six kegs which were

[28] Spokane House, at junction of main with the Little Spokane river, nine miles N. W. of City of Spokane, first established by Finan McDonald in 1810; Mr. James Birnie in charge. Mr. Birnie afterward settled at Astoria and Cathlamet near the mouth of the Columbia.

sowed at the Kettle Falls also looked well the last time people were there they have been hoed twice.

Paid the Indian Charlie who accompanied us with the horses 20 skins which he was promised more than he received at the Forks, and also made him a present of a Buffalo Robe, he has promised to bring the horse to the Fort. In case any other Indian trapper (should happen) to take him off he is the only one that would be likely to recover him. I intended to have sent a man & an Indian for this horse immediately but Mr. Birnie doubts that it would not be safe as a good many straggling Nezperces Indians are going & coming who might probably pillage them.

On my arrivel last night Mr. Birnie handed me a note from Governor Simpson of which the following is a copy.

Columbia Lake 16th Apl. 1825.

Dear Sir

The Dr. will no doubt have informed you of the reasons that induced me to alter your destination for this season and I trust the change will be agreeable to you.—

I have lined out the site of a new establishment[29] at the Kettle Falls and wish you to commence building and transporting the property from Spokane as early as possible. Mr. Birnie has been directed to plant about 5 kegs of potatoes—You will be so good as (to) take great care of them the produce to be reserved for seed, not eat, as next spring I expect that from 30 to 40 Bushels will be planted.—Pray let every possible exertion be used to buy up an abundant stock of Fish and other Provisions counrty Produce, as no imported provisions can in future be forwarded from the coast.—If you can dispense with the service of Mr. Dears in the course of the summer I wish him to be sent with a couple of Indians to examine the Flat Heads River[30] as far as the Ponderoy Camps at the Camass plain and if Navigable you will be so good as (to) forward the outfit of that Post by water instead of land carriage which will save a great expense in horse hire, etc.—The Cantany[31] River we know to be navigable; it is not, therefore, necessary to examine it, but you will likewise forward the outfit for the Post of that name by water—A few long Portages must not interfere with this plan as the benefits to be derived from the change will more than counterbalance the additional trouble and personal labour it may give our people.—If this plan is found to answer of which

[29] This, and previous entries, give us the actual plans for removal of this trading post to Kettle Falls on the Columbia, as had evidently been agreed upon during the winter at Fort George. Consult "Fur Hunters of Far West" (Ross) Vol. 2, p 162 as to this. Also Gov. Stevens large map in Vol. 12 of Pac. Ry. Reports.

[30] The Pend d'Oreille river, from its mouth to the Calispel river and flats near Cusick, Washington.

[31] The Kootenay river.

I have not the smallest doubt we shall be perfectly independent of the Indians in regard to horses which will be a great saving of property, and thereby we shall also avoid the chance of quarrels with the natives in regard to horse thieving as we shall have few or none to tempt them.—Mr. Dears appears to be a self-sufficient forward young man, he must not, however question or dispute your authority, if he does let me know it, in the meantime show him this paragraph if necessary.—With Mr. Birnie you will have no difficulty, he is unassuming active and interested.—Pray use every exertion to trade horses for Thompson's River and let them be sent in the fall so as to be forwarded from Okanogan to New Caledonia with all the pack saddles and appichimens that can be collected.

The cedar canoes brought down this season from Spokane will be the proper craft for the Cootanies & Flat Head Rivers.

The Spokans will not be pleased at the removal of the Fort but you must (?) the chiefs with a few presents besides fair words.

Do me the favour to collect[32] all the seeds plants Birds and quadrupids & mice & rats you can and let them be forwarded by the ship of next season to N. (Gosny) Esqur. care of Wm. Smith Esqr. Secty. H. B. Cmy., London.

Wishing a pleasant & prosperous season,

I remain

Dear Sir

Your most obd. servant,

(Signed) Geo. Simpson.

Friday 22nd.

Cloudy, but sultry warm weather.

I deferred setting out for Okanogan, as I intended, in order to allow the horses which are fatigued another days' rest, and there still being plenty of time to reach that place before the boats from the Wallawalla: something more could also be done here. In the course of the day the business of removing the Fort was broached to the Chiefs and notice given them that they would be requested to lend some assistance in horses. They gave no decisive answer on the subject but seemed to take it better than was expected. It was intimated that the Fort would be left in their charge and that probably instructions might be received in the fall for some people to reside at Spokane with them still. They seem to swallow this notwithstanding its improbability.—Very few of them are now about the Fort the most of them being a short distance below it at a fishing barrier where they are taking 7 or 800 salmon per day.

32 Evidently Gov. Simpson was not without some gift of humor; he was preparing Mr. Work for David Douglas' expected visit to the interior to collect botanical specimens.

Satd'y. 23

Cloudy blowing strong from the Westward.

At ½ past 9 o'clock set out from Spokane for Okanogan accompanied by a man and an Indian as a guide with seven horses, that is the 4 that belong to Okanogan, & 3 to return to Spokane with some people.—At 12 oclock we got clear of the woods & into the plains, except a short time that we stopped to allow the horses to feed. We drove on at a round pace all day and encamped at ½ past 7 oclock at a little pool of bad water, some distance from the Key encampment. The clouds of dust raised by the wind which was right ahead made riding very disagreeable as we were like to be choaked & blinded. Our guide did not keep the road but cut from place to place through the plains.—Our course might be from N. W. to W. Ridges of mountains or highlands run along at no great distance to the Northward, thinly clothed with wood, the country through which we passed though not (even) could not be called hilly but swelling into little knowls, covered with a thin coat of dry vegetables and generally of a barren & scorched appearance, except some little valleys where some few bushes & green vegetables are produced in consequence of there being water in the place or some moisture in the ground.—The road was in some places good, but in others very stony. Nothing to be seen to the S. E. but extensive plains bounded by the horison.

Sunday 24

Weather as yesterday.

Continued our route at 4 oclock and arrived[33] on the opposite side of the River at Okanagan at ½ past 7 after a smart days ride, and our horses much fatigued, some of them nearly knocked up, this was owing to their being allowed to drink too much water. If indulged in water while on the route they ought never to be allowed to take more than a mouthful or two.—

The appearance of the country course etc were much the same as yesterday except that we passed through a point of woods, in the morning we passed along the banks of the Columbia at the Lampoile[34] River, and before noon crossed the Grand Coolley, some of the mountains to the Northward were topped with snow.

The men whom I left to proceed with the horses on the 20th arrived here about noon with the whole band but one which they lost a little more than a days march from this place.—It is a small horse 2 yrs. old, and does not seem well.

33 After at least 150 miles across the best farming lands of Spokane, Lincoln and part of Douglas counties, Washington. Fort Okanogan was then on the Columbia river side of the plateau at mouth of Okanogan river.

34 The San Poil river, from the north.

Mondy 25

Cloudy blowing fresh from the Northward.

Went with the men for the purpose (of) bringing the horses across the River, but as it was blowing fresh and several of the horses very lean it was deemed advisable to let them remain untill another occasion.

Tuesday 26

Clear warm weather.

Brought the horses[35] across from the other side of the River all safe.

A little past noon an Indian arrived from Spokane with a note from Mr. Birnie and a packet which had recently reached that place from Mr. Ogden[36] dated East branch of the Missourie 10th July. In consequence of the former coming out at the Flat Heads, the Snake business would be so much involved with that of Spokane that I deemed it my duty to open the dispatch which I am sorry to find contains intelligence of a disagreeable nature. A series of misfortunes have attended the party from shortly after their departure on the 24th may they fell in with a party of Americans when 23 of the former deserted, two of this party were killed one by the Indians and one by accident and the remainder of the party are now coming out by the Flat Heads.

This occurrence will entirely change all our plans at Spokane, respecting moving the Fort, as all our time will be occupied in transporting the Snake outfit from Fort Nezperces to Spokane if the Snake country business is carried on.—It is indispensably necessary that these despatches should be sent to Fort Vancouver as soon as possible, they must be sent either direct to Fort Nezperces from this place or round by Spokane, by the former rout they will reach Nezperces in four days, by the latter they will require six.—I shall wait for Mr. McLeod's arrival when I expect he will furnish a man to accompany Mr. Dears whom I intend to send for the more safe conveyance of the packet, and who can return accompanied by an Indian direct from Wallawalla to Spokane, with all the despatches remaining at that place for Mr. Ogden, by this route he will reach Spokane as soon as I will with the boats and the papers can be forwarded by the Trading party to the Flat Heads & thence to Mr. Ogden by his men who are to come in with their furs. Mr. McLeods man LaPrade[37] who passed in the spring and who knows the road from this place to Nez-

35 These horses were for use in transporting goods to the Thompson river and New Caledonia Districts, which from now on were to deliver furs and get goods at Fort Vancouver on the Columbia. Up to this time they had shipped everything to and from York Factory to Hudson Bay, using the Tete Jaune Pass across the Rocky Mts.

36 Peter Skene Ogden, who was in charge of the Snake Country trappers that season. Consult Oregon Historical Quarterly Vol. 10, p.p. 229-278.

37 A half breed named La Prate, who afterward was for many years resident at Fort Okanogan.

perces can return accompanied by an Indian and be back at Okanogan in 8 days, or if deemed safe he could come round by Spokane which would occupy 2 or 3 days longer. If this plan meets Mr. McLeod's approbation it will be the most expeditious. The route by Spokane will answer equally well, but it will occupy at least 2 or three days longer to reach Nezperces.

Wed.y. 27

Warm sultry weather.

Sent off two of the men E. Gregoire and J. Moreau to seek the horse which they lost by the way coming.—La Prade is retained at the Fort to accompany Mr. Dears to Nezperces, in case Mr. McLeod allows him to go.

Thursd.y. 28.

Cloudy sultry weather.

Mr McLeod arrived with the boats 3 in number at 9 oclock in 8 days or rather on the 8th day from Nezperces, the day was occupied separating the cargoes, when I made out an a/c of the pieces which are to be taken to Spokane Forks.[38].—Some pieces belonging to Nezperces and the Snake expedition, it is thought advisable to take to Spokane, for the Nezperces pieces Mr. Dease is to take an equal number of the same description from the Snake outfit at his place. By taking these pieces to Spokane it will save the carriage across land from Nezperces.

Friday 29th.

Sultry warm weather.

This day was employed preparing despatches for the sea which are to accompany Mr. Ogdens letters which are to be sent off tomorrow. I expected that Mr McLeod would have spared a man to accompany Mr Dears to Wallawalla, but he cannot. I therefore thought he would have had to go round by Spokane, but on consulting Robbie Doo[39] the Indian who came with me, he engages to take him from here to Wallawalla though he never was that road, this will save the horses, and two or three days time. Mr Dears is to return straight to Spokane where I expect he will arive as soon as men with the boats, & have all Mr. Ogdens (documents) with him.

Though we have not more than full cargoes for two boats and 18 men to work them to the Forks, yet as the road is very (bad) and Mr. McLeod's and Mr. Ross's[40] families to accompany us it is the guide's opinion

38 The mouth of the Spokane river.

39 This name should be Robideaux, another half breed.

40 Alexander Ross, who had proceeded to Red River with Gov. Simpson this same Spring and whose family now follows; and Mr. McLeod sends his family preparatory to himself leaving the Columbia river district the following spring.

that we will get on safer and more expeditiously by taking three boats, 6 men per boat. Three are therefore to be taken.

Satd.y. 30

Clear warm weather.

Left Okanogan with 3 boats at 8 oclock and encamped at 6 in the evening to gum one of the boats which was leaking though she had been gummed at the fort. The road was tolerable though the current was very strong till afternoon, they got on without the poles but afterwards the boats had to be towed the greater part of the way with lines, sometimes the united strength of the two crews was required to take up one boat. The water is high though it has fallen greatly.

Mr Dears & the Indian also set out in the morning for Wallawalla. The Indian who brought Mr. Ogdens letters from Spokane, also returned to that place, with a letter to Mr Birnie requesting him to send horses to meet me at the Forks to take the property up to Spokane, as we know not whether the Fort can be removed this year untill answers are received from the sea[41] to our letters.

Sunday 31st.

Clear warm weather.

Embarked before 4 oclock this morning and reached the lower end of the dalls[42] at 9 oclock and got over there at 1, and encamped at half past 6 in the evening, having made a better days march than the common. In the evening we got on a little with the poles, but all the rest of the day the tow line had to be used, at the dalls it was very bad, the men had to pass the line over high projecting rocks where had they missed a foot they would have been killed. At the upper end of the dalls the boat had to be lightened and the one half of their cargoes carried a piece, as the boats could not b dragged up with the cargo all in.

August, 1825.

Mond.y. 1

Clear very warm.

Embarked at 3 oclock and put ashore at 5 to wait for Mr McLeod who was to come across land with his family to embark for the mountains, and with some papers which he had not finished when he left the Fort, and were delayed till 3 oclock, when we proceeded on our journey and encamped at ½ past 6.

41 Meaning Fort Vancouver.

42 That is Whirlpool Rapids at the foot of Nespalem Canyon. Consult Lieut. Thos. W. Symon's Report of Examination of Upper Columbia River for this journey from Okanogan to mouth of Spokane river.

Tuesday 2nd.

Cloudy mild weather.

Continued our route at 3 oclock and put ashore near 7 having made a very good days work.—

Wed.y 3

Cloudy weather.

Embarked at 3 oclock passed the (Lampoile) River at 9 where we breakfasted and traded a few pieces of dry salmon from the Indians, and encamped past 6 oclock. A good days march. Tho' our boats are only a little more than 2/3 loaded yet they are a good deal embarrassed, as we have four women and ten children passengers.

Thursday 4

Cloudy and very warm afternoon, a great deal of thunder & lightening and some rain in the night.

Embarked past 3 oclock and arrived at Spokane Forks at 8. The road this morning was very bad being continual rapids. These two days past, it was not so bad as the tow line had only to be used at some strong points. The boats were immediately discharged, at 10 oclock 3 men arrived with the horses horses from Spokane with a letter from Mr. Birnie. It appears that they had some trouble at Spokane with the Indians. The scoundrel Charlie with some others was making a disturbance, about removing the Fort.

Busily employed the after part of the day, distributing the property among the men who are divided into two pairs and are to take a brigade of horses each two, and also laying out the goods for Rocky Mountain that are to go to Kettle falls, and some boxes of tools for the building at Kettle Falls.—The two boats that are to remain are also laid up and some guns, 26 pieces, which was sent from Spokane, burried in the sand, till it be sent below in the fall.—

Sent a little Tobacco to the old chief at the Sampoile bourne and a message that some salmon were wanted for the people, he brought twenty fresh ones in the afternoon, which was abundance for the people, Some dry ones were also traded.

Frid.y 5.

At an early hour, had the horses assembled and divided into brigades, loaded and set off by 8 oclock and encamped at 1 at the bottom of the big hill which is a good days march. We have altogether 35 horses loaded, including baggage, etc. Left the guide P. L. Etang preparing to start with the boat and cargo destined for the R Mountains, to the Kettle Falls,

where he is to remain until the 20th of next month, he has 7 men with him, who are to be employed preparing timber and, if they have time, building a store as a beginning to the new establishment,[43], tools are sent with him for the purpose.—Intend sending Mr. Dears who I expect is arrived nearly at Spokane by this time, to Superintend the people, and L. La Bentie who is a carpenter to assist & direct in the building. As there is a great demand for provisions, the salmon can be loaded at the same time, for which purpose and to feed the people, an assortment of goods is sent up.

Saturday 6

Cloudy, blowing fresh from the Westward.

Proceeded on our journey at 4 oclock and halted to let the horses rest & feed at 10 and again resumed our journey at three and encamped for the night before 6 at camp at Cariboo (?) having made a long days march, the horses are tired.

The cords which fastened a load of traps gave way and the cases fell, the horse took fright and ran off with the load hanging to him, and so lamed one of his shoulders and leg that that he is disabled from carrying his load & scarcely fit to walk.—An Oil cloth which one of the men Gros Carlo had in charge was also lost through negligence. This is a serious loss as there in none to replace it and all we had were required. I sent notice among the Indians to seek it & if found to bring it to the Fort & they would be paid for their trouble.

Sunday 7

Mild warm weather.

Resumed our journey at a little past 4 oclock and by 10 all the brigades had arrived at the Spokane Fort and delivered in the cargoes. The horses were immediately sent across the River to graze and a man to take care of them.—

Mr. Birnie was like to have some trouble with som of the Indians shortly after my departure to Okanagan. Charlie, according to inteligence received by Mr. B., with a few other Nezperces had laid a plan to cut off the fort, but as this is grounded on report and as the Inds are very prone to belie each other, there is no knowing what degree of reliance to place on it. Charlie is doubtly a notorious scoundrel, when he heard of the Fort going to be abandoned he was much displeased and declared among the Indians that had he known of it not a horse would have been got in the Nezperces River if in his power to prevent it.—The trade of furs has been a little better last month than the preceding ones, but the

[43] The trading post to be known as Fort Colville just above Kettle Falls.

whole returns are far short of this time last year.—In provisions the trade is still increasing, there are now between 4 and 5000 pieces of salmon in store, besides roots. Saving so much provisions is a fortunate circumstance as unfortunately almost the whole of the dry meat is found to be so completely spoiled and damaged that it is useless.—

Mr. Dears contrary to my expectations is not yet arrived, 9 days are now elapsed since he left Okanagan for Wallawalla, which is a day later than I had calculated on his being able to reach this place. Probably something may have occurred to prevent him from arriving on the day expected.

Monday 8

Cloudy warm weather

Employed opening & examining the outfit—and making preparations by packing up the outfit for the Flat Heads.

Mr. Dears and the Indians arrived at noon from Wallawalla with despatches from that place, they were five days coming and had been four days going from Okanagan to Wallawalla. however he got through safe.—

Tuesday 9th

Cloudy warm weather.

At 10 oclock sent off 11 men with 10 horses loaded with an assortment of trading articles for the Flat Heads and a supply of some articles required by Mr. Ogden. I intend following them tomorrow accompanied by the old Flat Head chief who has passed the summer here & is now going to his friends, & another Indian who is to bring back the horses. I was prevented from accompanying the people today by having some papers to arrange. After the people had been off some time one of them returned for anothr horse in stead of one that had thrown his load and ran off from them.

Wed.y. 10

Clear fine weather.

At 9 oclock I set out after the people accompanied by the old Flat Head chief and another Indian. Near 6 oclock we came up with the party encamped at the little Lake[44] in the woods.—Mr McDonald's[45] horse which the old chief rode had been unwell before he left the fort though we did not know it, and was so knocked up that we had to leave him at the little River at this end of the Coer de Alan plains where we arrived

[44] Probably Spirit Lake Northeast of Spokane, and the little river mentioned a little further on was probably Rathdrum creek.

[45] Mr. Finan McDonald, who built Spokane House in 1810 and had but recently left there.

before 3 oclock which (is) a little more than 6 hours though we stopped to smoke by the way & seldom went past a trot.

Left Mr Dears preparing to go off to the Kettle Falls with L. La Bontie to to go on with the buildings at that place.

Thursday 11

Showery in the morning, fair afterwards with strong Westerly Wind.

Set out at 4 oclock and arrived at the Flat Head River[46] at noon & immediately commenced gumming the canoes which occupied the whole afternoon and is not yet entirely completed. One of the canoes was taken across the River by the Indians & we had to send across for it. The Indians had also taken nearly all the poles and paddles which will cause us a loss of time and labour to replace them with others. We are very scarce of gum.

An Indian handed the men who crossed for the canoe, a note from Mr Kittson[47], he has been at the Chutes[48] since the 31st of July, with the Indians waiting to trade

Friday 12

Cloudy pleasant weather.

Notwithstanding I had the men at work by daylight, they were so long getting paddles, poles & ready that it was 11 oclock before we started & then lost nearly an hour crossing (a freeman, the Soteaux & his baggage.—) So that it was noon when we got off. We got on pretty well and encamped past 6 oclock in the Lake[49] below the traverse to the island. One of the canoes had only 2 men & as they found poles & paddles ready, they went off in the morning & are yet ahead. Two of the canoes are still very leaky notwithstanding the time that was taken to gum them.

Sent off the Indians in the morning to the Fort with the horses, and the appichimens, at the same time I wrote to Mr. Birnie & Mr Dears & desired the latter if he could to prevail on the Kettle falls Indians to get a quantity of cedar bark to cover the store. I doubt the season is too far advanced to raise the bark.

Saturday 13

Cold in the morning blowing fresh from the Southward. Lightening & some thunder & rain in the night.

Had the men up at 3 oclock but it was blowing too fresh to attempt crossing the Lak & nearly 2 hours were lost waiting, still it was rough

[46] Pend D'Oreille river at Sineacateen crossing, the north end of David Thompson's "Skeetshoo Road"; later known as Markham's Ferry, Kootenay County, Idaho.
[47] William Kittson; see "Fur Hunters of Far West" Vol. 1, p. 207.
[48] Thompson Falls, Montana.
[49] Lake Pend d'Oreille.

making the haven, afterwards we got on very well and encamped near 7 oclock below Isle de Pierre.[50] Came up with the two men in the canoe that was ahead of us, in the afternoon.

Passed a good many Indians at the upper end of the Lake, gave them a little tobacco to smok, bought a little cammass from them, & then proceeded.—

Sunday 14

Cold foggy weather in the morning but very warm afterwards.

Proceeded on our journey before 4 oclock and encamped before 6 a good piece above the Barrier River.—We had to stop early to gum the canoes which were very leaky.

Passed a few Indians, two accompanied us all day in a canoe.

Monday 15.

Showry in the morning, fine afterwards.

Embarked at 4 oclock and reached the Indian camp at the Chutes[51] at 11 oclock, where I found Mr. Kittson and two men from Mr Ogdens party with 38 packs & 6 (Parto. . . .) braves. The Indian chiefs (with) Snake furs soon visited us and on being asked whether they wished to trade immediately or wait till tomorrow they preferred the latter. Some tobacco was given them for all hands to smoake.—And in the afternoon Mr. Kittson and I visited their principle lodge where the whole of the Indians soon assembled, when we gave them all the news from the different quarters of the country when they were enjoying the pipe & gave us what news they had in return.—The chiefs sent us some provisions immediately on our arrival.

Tuesday 16

Cold in the morning, very warm afterwards.

At an early hour the Indians began to arrive & a brisk trade was immediately commenced and by noon nearly the whole trade was finished, some lodges & trifling things were brought for sale during the afternoon.—

In the afternoon the men were off in the woods collecting pitch for the canoes, we applied to the Indians but a sufficiency could not be obtained from them and the canoes much in want of it as they will be very deep laden.

50 Probably the Cabinet Rapids in Clark's Fork river. Barrier river next mentioned is probably Trout Creek of today and maps.

51 Thompson Falls, Montana, where the Indians would be gathered for the summer trade and to fish. Mr. Ogden's party was either on head waters of Jefferson's Fork of the Missouri in Montana, or on the Snake or Salmon rivers in Idaho.

Wed.y. 17

Cloudy mild weather.

The men were employed the whole day gumming the canoes & had not the Indians favored us with the lend of their kettles to boil pitch it would have taken another day to finish their business.

All the Indians, except one chief who remained with us, took a most friendly leave of us and departed during the day, there might be altogether about. Indians of four different nations, Flat Heads, Kootanies, Ponderus and Piegans, of the latter there are but very few. A considerable number, 30 tents, were coming, but from some cause turned back. It was from the Flat Heads and Kootenais that the trade was principally obtained. these are remarkably fine Indians and easily dealt with. After the trade was over made each of the chiefs a trifling present of a little ammunition & Tobacco, a look.g. glass & a little beads.—

Joachin Hubert accompanied the Indians with the horses that brought the Snake furs and a small supply of articles for Mr. Ogden to whom I wrote and forwarded a number of letters and despatches addressed to him. The packet packet was put in charge of Grospied one of the F. Head chiefs, as being more safe. It was not till I was perfectly satisfied by Mr Kittson that there was no danger of these documents falling into improper hands, that I would trust them. The chiefs are directed to give them to no one but Mr Ogden and in case of any accident having befallen him to bring them back. It was Mr. Ogden's directions to Mr Kittson that only one man should be sent back to him.

Our trade amounts to 374 large & 99 small beaver and 1 otter large, 76 bales meat, 44 Robes, 122 appechimans 16 dressed skins & 11 (chevereaux) and 5 lodges and 1 horse, 29 saddles and cords, etc. Beaver and dressed skins are far short of last year, the deficiency in beaver is owing to a great many of the Kootanies having gone off to their own lands before our arrival, the scarcity of leather may be attributed to the same cause and to their having been at the Buffalo this season. Every encouragement was given for leather, it being so much wanted, and very high prices offered and articles given which is not customary to give for it. A trip will yet have to be made to the Kootany country to endeavour to get some leather and what beaver they may have.

Thursday 18

Foggy in the morning, fine weather afterwards.

Having everything ready, commenced loading at daylight and fell down the river and encamped in the evening a little above the Heron rapid. The canoes are very full and deep laden, it was so much as we could

do to get the whole into them, they are in fact heaped up in the middle. We came down the first rapid with half cargo, the other rapids were run with four men in each canoe, so that having to take only two canoes down at a time detained us. Two of the canoes were broke by striking on stones & some time was lost in repairing them, the cargoes fortunately sustained very little damage as they got ashore before they had time to be wet.

The old chief La Brash, who remained with us all night, took his leave and went off in the morning.

Friday 19

Cloudy fine weather.

Continued our rout at daylight, and encamped in the evening at the lower side of the wide traverse in the lake.[52] We were detained sometime repairing one of the canoes that was brok, also two hours at the Lake which was too rough to cross with our canoes so deep laden, tho there was no wind.—Some of the bales of meat were a little wet in the canoe that was broke.—

Satd.y. 20

Rain in the morning dry afterwards.

Continued our course at daylight and reached the Portage[53] at noon where three men were immediately sent off to the Fort[54] for horses. the men that remained employed drying the bales that were wet, and preparing places to lay up the canoes.

Sunday 21

Foggy in the morning, warm afterwards.

The men laid up the canoes & arranged part of the baggage to be in readiness when the horses arrive.

Monday 22.

Clear fine weather.

Had all the pieces tied and distributed among them who are divided into twos, saddles, appichimans & cords were also divided among the men.

Three Indians visited us in the evening from whom we got four ducks and a little bears meat.

Three bags of balls, & 9 half & 6 small axes which we had over & above our trade was hid in the woods in the horse pond in the night as it will save the carriage to the Fort and back in the Fall, and these are articles that will not injure by being burried under ground a short time.

52 This wide traverse or crossing of Lake Pend d'Oreille was from near Hope, Idaho westward across the Lake.

53 That is at Sinecateen again. During mining days this was the principal crossing of the Pend d'Oreille river and is well known to all early settlers of Idaho and Montana and the Kootenay country.

54 Spokane House.

Tuesday 23

Cloudy mild weather.

Before noon the men arrived from the Fort with all the Company's horses and what Mr Birnie could collect from the Indians which was still seven short of the number required. However an Indian arrived with these in the evening. The Indians at the Fort it seems are mostly off collecting roots which renders it difficult to procure horses.—As the horses require time to feed & as there would not have been time to get out to the plains where they can be kept without danger of loosing them we deferred starting till this morning.

Wed.y. 24

Some rain in the night, and wet disagreeable weather morning.

The weather being unfavourable we were detained some time in the morning, but it clearing up afterwards, the horses were loaded and we set out & encamped in the evening at the little River at the edge of the woods. Some of the horses are very weak, and scarcely able to manage thir loads.

Thursday 25

Showery in the night, but fair weather during the day, blowing fresh from the Westward.

Proceeded on our journey at 6 oclock and halted at Campment Bindash[55] at 11, where, as some of the horses are weak, I left the people, to go to the Fort tomorrow, & proceeded with Mr. Kittson to the house where we arrived at 4 oclock. I found two of Mr Dease's men who had arrive with despatches from the sea a few hours before they also brought 26 horses for the use of the Snake country expedition.

By a letter of instructions to me I am directed to bring half or such part of the Snake outfit as Mr. Kittson may suppose sufficient, from Nezperces. Now as it is uncertain whether Mr. Ogden may equip his men at the Flat Heads or take them to Nezperces, I am at a loss how to act, as if Mr Ogden takes his peoples to Nezperces it would be lost labour to bring goods from Nezperces and just have to take them back again, it is therefore determined to defer sending for any part of the outfit till the beginning of October, by which time we will have heard from Mr. Ogden & perhaps from the sea and will be able to act according to the instructions received.—I am apprehensive we will not be able to remove to the Kettle Falls this fall as we are uncertain what what assistance we may have to give the Snake people. by remaining the trade will be little affected, where as by removing we run a great risk of having the property, particularly the provisions injured as a store will not be ready to receive it, the

55 Probably they had camped for the night at the Hoodoo lake and this Bindash Campment at Spirit Lake, but impossible to locate certainly.

horses would also be so completely knocked up transporting the property, that they would be of little service to Mr. Ogden in case he requires them, & probably not able to bring his outfit from Wallawalla.

Friday 26th Augt. 1825.

Clear fine weather.

The men arrived with the horses before noon when the furs, provisions &c were all delivered in safe.—In the afternoon the Indians were settled with for their horses which we hired for the trip.

In the evening I was employed writing letters to Fort Vancouver.

Saturday 27

Clear fine weather.

Sent off Mr Dease's men with dispatches to Nezperces to be forforwarded to the sea.

A young Indian was engaged to carry the dispatches to Mr Ogden in the Snake country he is to have a horse for his trip, and promises to make the most expeditious he can. Nothing material has occurred since I have been absent. Trade in furs still slack but a little doing in provisions.

Sunday 28

Weather as yesterday.

Sent off the Indian with the express to Mr. Ogden he expects to reach him in about 8 to 10 days.

We are living now entirely on dry provisions as nothing fresh is to be got, not a salmon to be caught in the river.

Monday 29th

Clear fine pleasant weather.

Mr Kittson (&) two men with 6 horses set out for the Kootany country[56] with an assortment of Goods on a Trading excursion.

Sent off 9 men with some tools etc to the Kettle falls to assist with the buildings. I intend following them tomorrow or next day, to see how the business is going on. Getting the store completed is the first object.

Had the Flat head Furs opened and counted, they are in good order. the meat which was opened on Saturday is also in fine condition and weighs about 5500 lbs. The blacksmith Philip made 2 large axes, on Saturday he made 5 & did not begin early. we have now axes for all the people.—

[56] Mr. Kittson goes as far as Bonners Ferry, Idaho, near which David Thompson's "Lake Indian House" had been, for a summer trade with Kootenays there.

A fire kindled about the Ind camp & spread about our garden & burnt the greater part of the fence which was composed of thorn bushes.—

Tuesday 30

Fine pleasant weather.

Several Indians of the Pendant Oreill tribe arrived and traded, some beaver & roots & berries.

Seventy salmon were taken in our barier which are the first that have been caught for some time The Indians took 100 in this.

Wed.y. 31

Pleasant weather.

Set out from Spokane accompanied by an Indian with 3 horses & some articles, required for building and trade, to the Kettle falls at 8 oclock and encamped at an old burn on a little River in the evening at 5clock. The road lies on the hills & through valleys, some plains thickly wooded & some places clear & here, & there a plain in the valleys.

Sept. Thursd'y. 1

Warm weather.

Resumed our journey at 4 oclock and arrived at the New Establishment at noon.—The road was much the same today as yesterday, it lay a considerable distance through a plain along side of a little river[57], the plain is covered with very long grass and reeds in some places higher than the horse. The course from Spokane is nearly North, perhaps a little to to E of it.

The men who were sent off from Spokane on Monday arrived yesterday and are at work.

The men who were here before have made but very little progress in the work.—7 men of them have been employed since the 13th of Augt. and have only squared 4 logs 70 feet long, 4-25 feet long, 16-12 feet long & 13 Joists 25 feet long. Mr Dears says he could not get them to go quicker, as some of them were almost always sick.—Two of them are at present ill with the venereal and fit to do very little, one of them does nothing. A pretty good stock of provisions is traded, dry fish & berries sufficient to serve all the peopl here now 18 days. Very few fresh

[57] The Colville river and valley, and we now get a glimpse of the beginnings of actual settlement and trade in that valley. The "little nick" mentioned further on is Marcus Flat, just above Kettle Falls, where Fort Colville (so named after one of the H. B. Co. officials) was maintained until about 1872.

fish are now to be got the water is fallen so much that the salmon do not leap into the baskets which the Indians set for them.

Friday 2nd

Very warm in the middle of the day.

The men were at work at an early hour and finished squaring the logs mentioned yesterday, the pitt saw was also put in order and a pit made to commence sawing tomorrow. A carriage with two wheels and horse harness were also furnished that carting the timber to the house may be begun tomorrow.—

The fort is to be situated in a little nick just above the falls on the South side of the River. This little nick or valley, is of a horse shoe form, about 2 miles along the River side and about 2½ or 3 miles in depth surrounded by steep hills on both sides, a ridge of hills runs along the opposite side of the River. The Fort is to be situated on a sandy ridge about 600 yards from the river side. There is not a sufficiency of wood about it to build the store, that is now under way there the nearest wood is 1400 yards off on one side, 1500 or 1200 yards. on the other, where a little river is to be crossed.—

I took a ride along the river, through a point where there is some fine timber. The most expeditious mode of getting the dwelling house and other houses built will be to have the timber squared a few miles from the fort and rafted down the river. There seems to be some fine timber on the opposite shore about the same distance off.

The potatoes look well, but the moles are destroying some of them. the ground they occupy may be about 35 yards square.—

Saturday 3

Fine pleasant weather.

The men were differently employed, four preparing the frame for the store, some sawing, some squaring & one carting. there are now fifteen men fit for duty at work I expect as they are now properly set agoing they will get on well, and be able to have the store so far completed that the property can be deposited in it if we can effect a removal from Spokane this fall. This must in a great measure depend on what assistance we can give the Snake people.

Two Indians, the old chief's sons, were spoken to and having agreed to accompany a gentleman up the Pendent Oreille River in case he can be spared to go, to examine the lower part of it.

An Indian was also engaged to accompany me to Spokane & bring a supply of some articles of trade & toll that are wanted.

Sunday 4

Pleasant cool weather.

Set out from Kettle Falls at ¼ past 6 oclock and arrived at Spokane at 7 in the evening, which was a hard days riding, I was accompanied by two Indians who were driving ten horses to the (Buffer de Chideu) where I left them in the evening as some of the horses were giving up. The Indians changed horses frequently, but I changed only once the one I rode in the afternoon came from where I left the men in 1½ hours.

Monday 5

Clear fine warm weather.

Three of the freemen belonging to Mr Ogdens party arrived here two days ago for supplies & say they were permitted to leave the party to proceed across the mountains to the S. side. But as they had no writings with them but notes specifying the state of their a/c which we did not consider sufficient authority to give them any advances and deeming it necessary to send them back to Mr Ogden, so that he might keep his party as strong as possible, they were refused any advances but a little ammunition to take them back to where they would likely meet Mr. Ogden. These men are (A. Valle), A. (Curvais) and (Wetacass), they have brought some beaver & have all money coming to them. Mr Ogden's notes are dated on the 15 Augt. when all the freemen but 6 had parted from him,[58] his party then was only 15 strong, and he was going through a dangerous country, they had been successful in their hunting since Mr Kittson left them.—All the freemen but these three and another, turned back with the Flat Heads.—These men met the Indians who went off on Sunday week with the despatches to Mr Ogden, he was getting on well.—

The Indians whom I left yesterday evening arrived with the horses, some of them are much fatigued.

Nothing material has occured here since I have been absent.

Tuesday 6

Fine weather.

Mr. Kittson arrived from the Kootenais and has made a pretty good trade, 99 beaver, 62 deer & 34 elk skins & 2 horses, he changed some of his horses which were jaded for others. The Kootanies desire a Post[59] to be in their country this season, though some of those we saw at the Flat Heads said it would not be necessary.

(To be continued.)

[58] This refers to the desertions of the H. B. Co. Free-hunters under inducement from the American traders, concerning which there has been some reflection cast upon Gen. W. H. Ashley, but without real evidence to support it.

[59] Probably meaning the rebuilding of the Post or Fort near Bonners Ferry; a regular Post had been maintained further up the Kootenay river about opposite Jennings, Montana. See Ross Cox' "Adventures," p. 233.

HISTORY OF THE LIQUOR LAWS OF THE STATE OF WASHINGTON

The State of Washington passed through three forms of government before attaining statehood. The present state was first a part of the "Old Oregon" under the provisional government. In 1840 the American population sent a petition to Congress enumerating reasons for a territorial government. This petition closed with these words:

"We pray for the high privilege of American citizenship. The peaceful enjoyment of life, the right of acquiring, possessing and using property and the unrestrained pursuit of rational happiness and for this your petetioners will ever pray."

In 1848 Congress approved the "Oregon Bill' and for four years longer Washington continued a part of the territory of Oregon. The region was then, in 1853, organized as a separate territory and for thirty-six years the "Organic Law," with added amendments, served as the territorial constitution. Washington then became a state in 1889. It is under these different forms of government and through the different stages of growth and development, therefore, that the question of legalizing or prohibiting the sale of alcoholic liquors becomes interesting: Provisional government, 1843-1849; Oregon territory, 1849-1853; Washington territory, 1853-1889; Washington state, 1889.

The first territorial legislature of the present state of Washington convened in 1854. During this session of the legislature there was an effort made to pass a state-wide prohibitioin law. There had been widespread agitation upon tepmerance and prohibition throughout the country, by such reformers as John B. Gough and Neal Dow. In the state of Maine Dow's work had resulted in the Maine prohibition law. The effort for prohibition in the territory in 1854 failed but in 1855 a general liquor law was passed entitled "An act to prohibit the manufacture or sale or Ardent Spirits in the Territory of Washington." It is interesting to note the language of this law in the light of the present.

Sec. 1 says "The manufacture, sale or gift of intoxicating liquors is prohibited."

Sec. 2 says "A public agent may be appointed to sell spiritous liquors for certain purposes, such agent to conform to the rules and regulations of the appointing power and receive a compensation."

There is further provision in this law for bond, for punishment, for violation and for fines under the law to go to the public school fund. In

addition to this there were two general liquor laws and much minor legislation which we wish to notice.

This law passed June 30, 1855. Five days previous to this date, January 25, there was an enactment prohibiting the sale of liquor to Indians. The penalty for violation was a fine of from $25 to $500. These fines also went into the school fund.

In 1858 another law was passed making it a crime to sell to the Kanakas (Hawaiian Islanders). This law was re-enacted in 1860.

In 1863, as there came to be more respect for law and community life was more firmly established, we find the first provision of a jail sentence for the violation of a liquor law. This was under an act to prevent the sale of adulterated liquor, which made provision for inspectors and defined the duties thereof. The penalty for violation of this law was $500 and six months in jail.

The first law to prohibit the sale to minors was passed on November 9, 1877. For violation of this law there was a jail sentence and fine not to exceed $500, one or both. At the same session on the same day there was a law passed to protect those who sold to a minor who misrepresented his age. Any minor misrepresenting his age was liable to fine of $25 to $100, and jail sentence of not to exceed three months.

Two years later we find the first law for the recovery of damages for injury by use of intoxicating liquors. The law holds the owner of the biulding liable jointly with the seller. This law was enacted November 14, 1879.

An interesting bit of legislation is a law passed in 1879 restraining the sale of intoxicating liquor in certain counties, Spokane, Stevens and Whitman, within one mile of the Northern Pacific Railroad, during construction. For violation of this law there was provided a fine of $300 or three months in jail or both.

In 1881 a second damage law providing for damages for one who suffered injury in person, property or means of support. This law says no license shall be granted without the consent in writing of the owner of the building for his property to be used for saloon purposes. The property then becomes liable and the owner may be held for damages. The money for damages may be recovered by civil action.

No further legislation of notice follows till the year 1885, just thirty years after the first general liquor law was passed—thirty years of attempted control which had not been very successful. The agitation for teaching the effects of alcohol and narcotics in the public schools resulted in the passage of such a law in this state December 23, 1885. This law applies to all schools supported wholly or in part by money from the ter-

ritorial treasury. "The County Treasurer shall withold the county funds from any school not complying with the provisions of this act." A fine of $100 is assessible against any county or state superintendent who fails to enforce the provisions of the law. This law, passed December 23, 1885, went into effect in July, 1886, and provided that teachers must take an examination in this subject after 1887.

In the year 1886 a second general liquor law was passed. This law is known as, "An act to prohibit the sale of Intoxicating Liquors in Election Precincts of Washington Territory, Whenever a Majority of Legal Voters of Any Such Precinct, at any election to be held for that purpose, shall vote in favor of the prohibition of such liquors." This is quite a lengthy law beginning with Section 1 which defines the terms used, stating the singular shall include the plural and the plural the singular. Nouns and pronouns of the masculine gender shall include the feminine. The term intoxicating liquor shall include all liquor of any nature. We may infer from this clause that there had been some dispute over the interpretation of previous laws. Through court cases under this law an incorporated town or city shall be a voting precinct. This law contained eighteen different sections.

In 1887 there was a license law passed. This law permits the county board to license outside of cities and towns. The license fee was from $300 to $1000 divided as follows: 10 per cent goes to the state; 35 per cent goes to the school; 55 per cent goes to the county. In cities the council may grant the license. Then 10 per cent goes to the state, 90 per cent goes to the city. Bonds are fixed at $1000. It was approved February 2, 1888, to be in force sixty days after approval.

In 1893 there was a law passed amending municipal incorporation liquor tax regulation.

In 1895 a law was passed making it a nuisance to sell liquor contrary to law.

Another law was passed in the same year, 1895, which is of interest. This was an act prohibiting the sale of intoxicating liquor on or within two miles of the University Grounds, making an exception of a small corner of ground in Madison Park on Lake Washington. This law was drawn by Professor Edmond S. Meany, Department of History, Washington State University. Illinois has a law similar to this one, but the limit in that state is one mile while in Washington it is two. In 1903 a law passed prohibiting the sale of intoxicating liquor within the proscribed limit (of 2000 feet) of state institutions. This applied to state institutions, not educational as well, and contained a clause stating that this law would not affect the law concerning the State University. The fine for violation

of this law was a fine of $200 to $1000. Another law in 1903 was for the search and seizure of liquor. In 1905 a law passed providing for the license to be endorsed by the treasurer of the state when he received his share of the license fee. This law would lead one to believe that there might sometimes be some irregularity in handling license monies.

Another Act in 1905 was an amendment to the act providing for the right of action for damages.

In 1907 there was passed "An act relating to sale of intoxicating liquors, fixing a state license fee of $25 and providing punishment for violation thereof.

A number of measures were passed in 1909: An act to prohibit a wholesaler from holding an interest in a saloon or acting as bondsman. The fine for the violation is from $100 to $500 or a jail sentence for thirty days to six months. Monies loaned for such purposes in violation of this law are forfeited to the city or state. An act prohibiting the sale of liquor to Indians or mixed bloods and fixing a penalty for the violation thereof. The state board of tax commissioners are empowered to regulate the enforcement of the law of 1907.

The Military Code gives the commanding officer of the National Guard authority, saying, "He shall prohibit or prevent the sale or use of all intoxicating liquors. The sale of intoxicating liquor is prohibited within 2000 feet of State institutions, Normal, Agricultural Colleges, etc., and provides a fine of $200 to $1000 for the violation of this act."

In this same year, 1909, the third general liquor law of this state was passed. This is known as the "Local Option Law." The unit of territory under this law shall be each city of the first, second, third or fourth class each unclassified city having a population of 1000 inhabitants and each county having no first, second, third or fourth class city. Under this law the question shall be submitted at the general election or at special elections by the petition of 30 per cent of the electors at the last general election. This is quite a lengthy law and would appear to cover almost every point of regulation of the traffic. One clause of the law says, "No provision is intended or shall be construed to violate or contradict the laws of the United States." The text of this act contains twenty-three sections. This local option law passed the Senate February 18, 1909; passed the House March 4, 1909, and was approved March 12, 1909.

We are now close to the present time and it may be well to notice that in 1911 an effort was made to amend the law of 1909. The amendment was introduced in the Senate by Mr. Falconer and known as Senate Bill No. 121. The bill was read the first and second time and was referred to the Committee on Morals—evidently an effort was made

to kill the bill in committee. There was two reports, a majority and a minority report. The former was accepted. The bill was advanced to third reading. Eight amendments were offered but all were lost. It passed the senate by a vote of 24 to 16. The measure did not fare as well in the house. Here also it was House Bill 121. It was read the first time, referred to the committee on rules of order, reported back without recommendation, then indefinitely postponed.

The legislature in 1911 did at least pass one measure. This law made it a gross misdemeanor to permit minors in saloons.

The general law of 1909, which is known as the Local Option Law, was secured through the temperance forces of the state. The strongest and most active organizations are the Independent Order of Good Templars and the Anti-Saloon League. The Good Templars of this state have in addition to the American order a branch society among the Scandinavians, which numbers several thousand voters. Much credit for the advance in temperance and anti-saloon sentiment in Washington must be given to George F. Cotterill, the former mayor of the city of Seattle. Mr. Cotterill has not only been active among the American and Scandinavian Good Templars of which he is the national head in America, but he has been fully as diligent in the circles of organized labor.

Labor organizations have been active in temperance agitation. They realize that sober men command a higher wage than drinking men and are quite as zealous as the church in training their members to stay sober.

The question of "State Wide Prohibition" will be submitted to a referendum vote of the people of the state in 1914.

We have the same question confronting us today that we had 59 years ago.

ANNA SLOAN WALKER.

DIVORCE IN WASHINGTON

In the matter of divorce, the commonwealth of Washington has passed through a social evolution. In the early part of the territorial period it was a common practice for the legislature to enact private laws, granting divorces. The first of these divorces on record was granted by the Oregon territorial legislature as far back as 1845. The ease with which divorces could be obtained resulted in a wholesale abuse of this legislative privilege. According to Arthur A. Denny, Fayette McMullin accepted the office of governor of the territory and came to Olympia for the expressed purpose of obtaining such a legislative divorce. Mr. Denny was plied to vote for the measure but refused. He never would vote for a divorce bill, and always told the applicants to go to the courts for their divorces. Mr. Denny's attitude on the question was shared by many others, as the constant opposition to the practice shows. As for Governor McMullin, he was successful in getting his divorce. It was granted on the 25th day of January, 1858. Two other such divorces were granted at the same session. One was granted at the following session and fifteen at the next. The average at the next few sessions was between ten and fifteen. McMullin afterwards married Miss Mary Wood of Olympia. The fact that he was removed from office for incompetency in July, 1858, will serve to give one an index to his personality. His term of office was from 1857-59 and Charles H. Mason, secretary of the territory, filled out the unexpired term.

A more sturdy type of man, who served as war governor, was William Pickering. His views on the granting of legislative divorces is but a voicing of the general sentiment. Prior to his arrival in the territory, unhappy married people had usually applied to the legislature for the granting of divorces. At nearly every session one or more acts had been passed and the divorce business had been particularly active during the two preceding sessions, at one of which fifteen and the other seventeen such acts had been passed. Secretary Turney, as acting governor, had declared against this practice in the message he sent to legislature in December, 1861, but no attention was paid to his recommendation that it be discontinued. Turney's attitude on the question was expressed as follows: "All good citizens acknowledge and respect the marriage relation. Yet, the interests of society are often stabbed and stricken down, and public sentiment outraged and insulted by disregarding that sanctity, in severing those who

have been united in wedlock's holy bands. Those ties should be sundered only by courts of competent jurisdiction, and only for one cause—the scriptural ground for a writing of divorcement."

Pickering's message was but a renewal of this remommendation and his principle points were that the law declared marriage to be a civil contract, all breaches or violations of which were proper subjects for the judiciary alone. The courts alone could hear the testimony of the parties and they alone could render final judgment and decree for alimony and determine which of the parties should have the care and custody of the minor children. Although sixteen divorces were granted at this session, an act was passed at the succeeding session which practically committed the granting of divorces to the courts, and the practice of applying to the legislature was soon discontinued.

Pickering's position on the question, as brought out in his first gubernatorial message to the legislature on December 17, 1862, was as follows: "I should be recreant to the duty I owe to society, if I failed to call your serious attention to the sad and immoral effects growing out of the readiness with which our legislative assemblies have heretofore annuled that most solemn contract of marriage. Let me earnestly invoke you to stay the evils, which result from the legislature granting divorces, thereby destroying the sacred responsibilities and duties of husband and wife merely upon the request, or petition, of one of the parties.

"Without intending to trespass upon your law making province, permit me to suggest for your consideration the fact, that the present laws declare marriage to be a civil contract; therefore all breches or violations of its conditions are proper subjects for the judiciary alone, and not for legislative enactment on one side, or ex parte statements.

"The law as it stands upon the statute books of the territory has conferred full jurisdiction uppon the courts, in all cases belonging to divorces, which is the only tribunal that can deliberately hear and examine all the witnesses on both sides of those unfortunate domestic difficulties of the parties applying for a dissolution of the marriage contract.

"The legislature seldom has the opportunity of hearing any witnesses, even on the side of the complaining party, and never can have before them all the witnesses connected with both parties, especially necessary to the proper adjudication of these cases. It will also be well to remember, that in the divorce cases the legislature cannot decree or enter judgment for alimony, division of property belonging to the married parties, nor legally decide whether the separate husband or wife, shall lawfully continue the possession, care and control of their children.

"The court alone can have full power to render final judgment and decree of alimony, division of property and direct who shall have the care and control of the minor children.

"Many of the legislatures of the states, for several years past, have positively refused to grant divorces. Eminent lawyers are agreed in the opinion that all divorces granted by the legislature are entirely unconstitutional, and therefore null and void, for the reason that no act of the legislature can destroy, annul, violate, or set aside the said civil contract nor the sacred and religious bonds and mutual obligations entered into by man and wife at the solemnization of marriage. It is at all times a very serious and delicate matter for any person or persons to interfere in any manner in the unhappy quarrels and family difficulties of man and wife. There are few subjects brought before the courts of our country requiring to be treated with more deliberate care and caution than divorces.

"Whenever a legislative body takes an action in cases of divorces, it is not improperly regarded as an infringement upon the legislative provinces of the courts. For these reasons I trust your honorable body will firmly refuse to interfere with the rights of husband and wife. Applicants, seeking separation, should be directed to the courts of our territory where they can receive all the relief and remedy for their grievances which the laws of our country afford."

In spite of this protest that same session enacted sixteen such private bills, and at the following session the governor renewed his objections. In January, 1866, the legislature enacted a law declaring marriage to be a civil contract which would throw the consideration of divorce into the courts. In 1871 another divorce bill was passed but this was the last and subsequent efforts to revive the practice failed.

The attempted constitution of 1878, which was drawn up at Walla Walla, declared against such legislative divorces, as did the approved constitution of 1889.

The causes of this dissatisfaction in the method of granting divorces are apparent. The people realized that marriage is the institution at the basis of our social existence. An undoubted reaction against the laxity of the divorce laws was springing up, not only in Washington, but throughout the United States. This action ultimately resulted in two reforms. It diminished the grounds on which a divorce may be granted and it extended the period necessary to establish a legal residence. Today there is no state in which an action for divorce may be brought without a preliminary residence of at least six months. The drift of legislation in the last twenty

years has been almost wholly in the direction of greater restriction. In spite of this the national ratio of divorce is 1:12.

Although most states have but a single provision in their constitution regarding divorce, Washington has two. They are: Article II, Section 24. The legislature shall never authorize any lottery or grant any divorce. Article IV, Section 6. The superior court shall have jurisdiction of all matters of divorce and for the annulment of marriage. These provisions have removed, beyond all doubt, the granting of legislative divorces.

A brief survey of the laws at the present time reveal the following information:

Jurisdiction.

Jurisdiction shall lie in the district court in the county where the petitioner resides.

The act of February 21, 1891 provides that divorces shall be granted by the superior court.

Residence.

The petitioner must have been a resident of the state for one year next before the filing of the petitions. This is an amendment of the act of January, 1864, which required only three months.

Service of Process or Notice.

Legal notice shall be personal or by publication.

Like process shall be had as in all other civil suits.

By the laws of 1893 it is provided that when the defendant cannot be found in the state, a copy of the summons and complaint shall be mailed to him at his place of residence, but if the residence is not known, service may be by publication. Publication must be once each week for six consecutive weeks in a newspaper published in the county where the action is brought or, if there be none there, in an adjoining county, or if there be non there, in the capital of the state.

Causes for Absolute Divorce.

1. When the consent to the marriage of the party applying for the divorce was obtained by force or fraud and there has been no subsequent voluntary cohabitation.
2. For adultery on the part of the wife or husband, when unforgiven, and application is made within one year after it shall come to his or her knowledge.
3. Impotency.
4. Abandonment for one year.
5. Cruel treatment of either party by the other.
6. Personal iniquities rendering life burdensome.

7. Habitual drunkedness of either party.

8. Neglect or refusal of the husband to make suitable provisions for his family.

9. The imprisonment of either party in the penitentiary, if complaint is filed during the term of such imprisonment.

10. Any other cause deemed by the court sufficient, when the court shall be satisfied that the parties can no longer live together.

11. In the discretion of the court, in case of incurable, chronic mania or dementia of either party, the same having existed for ten years or more.

The above causes were in effect in 1887.

By an act approved Feb. 24, 1891, cause 6, as given above, was amended so as to read as follows: "Personal indignities rendering life burdensome."

Limited Divorce.

There is no limited divorce in Washington.

Special Provisions for Defence.

Whenever a petition for divorce remains undefended, it shall be the duty of the prosecuting attorney to resist such petition, except where the attorney for the petitioner is a partner of or keeps his office with, such prosecuting attorney, in which case the court shall appoint an attorney to resist the petition.

Temporary Alimony.

During the pendency of an action for divorce, the court may make such orders relative to the expenses of the suit as will insure to the wife an efficient preparation of her case, and a fair and impartial trial thereof.

Permanent Alimony.

In granting a divorce the court shall make such disposition of the property of the parties as shall appear just and equitable, having regard to the respective merits of the parties, and to the condition in which they will be left by such division and to the party through whom the property was acquired, and to the burdens imposed upon it for the benefit of the children.

Refusal of Divorce.

No divorce shall be granted in case of adultery, if the offense has been forgiven by the petitioner, or on the ground of force or fraud, if there has been subsequent voluntary cohabitation of the parties.

In case of adultery the action must be commenced within one year after petitioner shall have knowledge of the act.

Answer or Cross-complaint.

The defendant may, in addition to the answer, file a cross complaint for divorce, and the court may grant a divorce in favor of either party.

Change of Name After Divorce.

In granting a divorce, the court may, for just and reasonable cause, change the name of the wife, who shall thereafter be known and called by such name as the court shall in its order or decree appoint.

Trial by Jury.

Practice in civil actions govern all proceedings in the trial of actions for divorce, except that trial by jury is dispensed with.

No Divorce on Confession.

When the defendant does not answer or, answering, admits the allegations in the petition, the court shall require proof before granting the divorce.

Custody of Children.

On granting a decree, the court shall make provision for the guardianship, custody, support and education of the minor children of the marriage.

Pending an action for divorce the court may make such orders for the disposition of the children of the parties as may be deemed right and proper.

Remarriage.

When a divorce is granted, a full and complete dissolution of the marriage as to both parties follows: Provided, That neither party shall be capable of contracting marriage with a third person until the period has expired within which an appeal may be taken, or until the determination of such appeal, if taken. The act approved March 9, 1893 in addition, makes such a marriage unlawful under any circumstances within six months, and requires that the judgment or decree must expressly prohibit such a marriage within six months.

Thus we have a summary of past and present conditions. In conclusion, a few statistics will clearly show whether or not the laws have accomplished their purpose.

Divorces granted in Washington.

1867-86.	1887-1906.
996	16,215

Average annual divorces per 100,000 population.

1900	1890	1880	1870
184	190	75	88

Per 100,000 married population.

1900	1890
513	316

Rank according to average number of annual divorces per 100,000 population.

	1900	1890	1880	1870
1.	Wash.	Colo.	Colo.	Wyom. & Ind. Terr.
2.	Mont.	Mont.	Mont.	....
3.	Colo.	Wash.	Utah	Rhode Is.
4.	Ind.	Ore.	Wyo.	Wash.

11. Wash.

In city. counties		In other counties		Excess of city rates	
1900	1890	1900	1890	1900	1890
266	140	162	103	104	37

Number and cause of divorces granted from 1867-1906.

Desertion	6,446
Cruelty	4,026
Neglect to provide	3,087
Adultery	699
Drunkenness	674
Combinations of preceding causes	1,388
All other causes	891

Thus we have the most recent government statistics. However, a review of condtions in King County during the last year will give us a more accurate idea of conditions. The records show that almost 25 per cent of the total number of cases filed in the superior court were divorce cases. The figures show a total of 6,710 cases filed, of which 1,539 were divorce cases. The increase in the number of divorces over 1912 is approximately ten per cent.

Of the total number of divorce cases filed decrees were granted in 986 cases, and nearly 200 cases are now pending. The majority of applicants for divorce are wives, the larger number asking for divorce on the grounds of cruelty. The ratio of marriage to divorce in this county for 1913 is 3.5:1.

Judges of the superior court, while ascribing different causes to the increase of divorce, all deplore it. One judge holds that a change in the

laws would tend to decrease the number of divorces. Other judges hold that divorce is a social matter that is entirely outside of the particular form of law and arises from personal and local surroundings.

The total number of divorces, it is held, should not be taken as an indication of local domestic trouble, for the reason that 20 per cent or more come from British Columbia. Of the remainder a large number arise in the cases of people who have arrived from the East during the past two years.

The fact remains, however, that it is not easy to account for the wide variation in the divorce rates in the different states. The results are affected by a wide variety of influences: the composition of the population as regards race or nationality; the proportion of immigrants in the total population and the countries from which they came; the relative strength of the prevailing religions and particularly the strength of the Roman Catholic faith against divorce; the variation in divorce laws and in the procedure and practice of the courts granting divorces; the interstate migration of population, either for the purpose of obtaining a divorce or for economic or other reasons not connected with divorce—all these, and doubtless many more, are factors which may affect the divorce rate.

The states with the highest ratio are generally those in the western part of the country. The west is a progressive country. But this is one path along which we would prefer to progress less rapidly. Let us not, in our mad rush for wealth, honor and pleasure, forget the religion of our fathers and the sacredness of the marriage bond. Remember that marriage is the foundation of the state and divorce is the torrent which is rushing madly forward in an ever-increasing effort to undermine it. Let each one do his part to divert this ruthless enemy to progress.

RALPH R. KNAPP.

DOCUMENTS

A New Vancouver Journal

Vancouver was one of the greatest explorers who visited the shores of Northwestern America. Any new document that can throw light on his work is therefore important.

The known history of this present document is very brief. In 1907, the Macmillan Company published Vancouver's Discovery of Puget Sound, by Edmond S. Meany. The relatively few copies printed travelled widely over the earth. Among the letters received by the author was one from A. H. Turnbull of Wellington, New Zealand.

He said Vancouver's work was of great interest to the people in that part of the world because of his explorations there. The armed tender Chatham, consort of Vancouver's ship Discovery, had discovered and named Chatham Island, which was later associated with New Zealand in government. In his search for books bearing on explorations, Mr. Turnbull had located in an old book stall in London the manuscript of a journal kept by a member of the Chatham's crew. He purchased it and placed it in his private library in Wellington.

Finding that part of the journal related to the Northwest coast of America he had that portion carefully copied and it is from this copy that the present publication is made. Mr. Turnbull entered "(sic)" in a few doubtful places and these are allowed to stand. He also omitted a portion descriptive of a tragedy in Hawaii.

This journal is by no means as full or as finished in style as that of Vancouver, but it will certainly be cherished as a companion to the larger work.

Probably one reason for the name of the writer being unknown is that it was a government expedition and no private journals were permitted.

The present editor is responsible for the annotations.

EDMOND S. MEANY.

March, 1792.

From the Sandwich Islands to the No. We. Coast of America.

After leaving Ooneehow we had the wind from the Northward and Eastward, with which we stood to the N. W. close hauld. At daylight Ooneehow[1] bore East 7 or 8 leagues, Atooi Eb N 1-2 N, and Tahouru

[1]The names here given of the Hawaiian Islands are not all recognizable, but this one is evidently the modern Oahu.

S E b S. As the morning advanced we got the wind from the N. Wrd. and the Signal was made to steer NNE. The wind blew fresh in squalls attended with rain all day and at night, and we lost sight of the Discovery, in the morning she was perceived a considerable distance to Leeward with only her head sails set, and we bore down to her, and as we came nearer we judged from what we saw going forward on board her, that she had sprung her Main Mast, indeed we could observe clearly that they were fishing it. This disagreeable weather continued several days, the wind chiefly from the Nd. & NbE. On the 23rd our Latde: was 24.49 Nd. and the Longe: 209° Et. We now began to feel a very considerable change in the weather, and from the thin linen cloathes that we were used to wear at the Islands, we were obliged to change to our wramest dresses. The Sandwich Island fowls though fed on their own country food all died.

The 24th in the afternoon being calm Capt. B. went on board the Discovery, and Mr. Paget[2] returned and dined on board the Chatham, when we learnt that their Main Mast was not only sprung, as we conjectured but that they had found the head of the Foremast also sprung, and had carried away both the Fore & Main Top Gallant Yards on the night of the 19th. In the evening we had the wind again from the N Erd. which continued and with it continued also very gloomy disagreeable weather. On the 27th our Lat: was at noon 24.21 N and the Longe: 215.5 Et. Tack'd and stood to the N W. We kept tacking occasionally, and on the 31st we were no further to the Nd. than the Lat. of 28°.

The 1st of April being the Anniversary of our leaving England, double allowance of Grog was served to the Ship's Company to commemorate the day and drink the healths of their old friends at home. We made but a very poor hand of working through the Trade Wind and from the 1st to the 4th made scarce anything. We then got the breeze pretty fresh with fair weather at N. E. and steered N. N. W. the Lat: 30.26 N. this fine weather continued till the 6th when we were in Lat: of 33.59 N. and the Longe: of 216.30 Et. It was not till the 8th in the Lat: of 36° N. that we lost the N E trade, to carry it so far is uncommon; we then had it calm, and two gentlemen from the Discovery who had been shooting some marine Birds came on board. They had kill'd a very large bird call'd by the sailors Mother Carey's Goose, it measured 7½ feet from tip to tip of the wings. They told us they had seen a duck fly past the Ship the day before, which is somewhat surprising as we know of no

[2]This officer is always referred to as Mr. Paget. Captain George Vancouver, chief of the expedition, used the more familiar spelling and the world has long known him as Lieutenant Peter Puget.

land very near us. This day and yesterday observed the surface of the water to be covered with a species of what is call'd the Medusa Valilla.[3]

The weather became now very thick & foggy with drizzling rain, and it continued for the most part calm till the 10th. When a breeze began to freshen from the W b S we made all sail steering E N E. In the morning of the 11th it veer'd to S E b S where it made a stand with fine pleasant weather. Our Lat: that day was 36.10 and the Longe: 221.8 Et. We had this fine weather till the 16th when the wind veer'd to E S E blowing in hard squalls attended with rainy dirty weather, that at night increased to a hard gale and brought us to close reef'd Topsails. We wore occasionally, and our Lat: at Noon was 38.50 N. The gale settled at S. E. encreasing in volume, and in the course of the night, we were oblig'd to hand the Topsails. Moderating a little by the morning, we let out the reefs and stood to the E N E. At noon the 17th the Lat: was 39.23 N and the Longe: 234.50 Et. The weather was very thick and Hazy, and about 4 o'clock in the afternoon, the Discovery who was two mile ahead of us made the Signal for seeing the Land. At this time we had vast numbers of Shags, Divers, Ducks & other Birds of the Sea-shore about us, but from the thickness of the weather it was not till near 5 o'clock that we saw the Land, when the Coast of New Albion[4] was seen bearing from N b E to E b S, not many miles distant. The haze over the Land clearing up a little gave us an opportunity of seeing it. It had a very pleasing appearance, high and covered to the top with tall pines with here and there some rich verdant lawns. We tack'd early and stood off and on during the night and in the morning stretch'd in again for the shore. We had no wind till towards noon when a fine breeze from S. S. E. sprung up and we bore away along shore with all sail set. As we had now entered upon our Station, and the survey of the Coast, we were obliged to haul off at dark and spend the night in short boards, that we might take up the Land in the morning where we left off the evening before. The 19th we had a fine moderate Breeze at S. E. with which we run along shore. Our Lat: at Noon 40.2 N & Long: 235.22 Et. It freshened in the evening with rainy hazy weather and by midnight we had a very hard gale which continued all the 21st. In the morning of the 22nd it fell calm with thick, Foggy unpleasant weather and it was not till the following day that we were inabled to get in with the Land and run along shore. Our weather was now clear and pleasant with the wind from the Sd: & S. Eastd. At noon on the 24th our Lat: was 42.31 N and

[3]A form of jelly-fish. Other common names are sun-fish, sun-squalls and umbrella-jellies.

[4]This name was given to the Northwest coast of America by Sir Francis Drake two hundred years before this voyage.

it falling calm soon after, with a Current setting us fast on Shore we anchor'd per Signal in 37 fm: in a deep Bay, the N Extreme of which is a remarkable Cape, which Captn: Vancouver named Cape Orford,[5] in honor of the Earl of that name.

We presently found that this place was inhabited, for two Canoes appear'd (the first on this Coast we had seen) one of which went to the Discovery, the other came to us. In this one there were five men who after making fast their canoe came on board with great confidence, and did not shew much surprise on entering the Vessel. Though they had brought nothing purposely to sell yet they were perfectly well acquainted with bartering, and their Cloathing which was Deer Skins with one or two Fox Skins, and a few Bows & Arrows that they had, they readily sold for trifles, nor wou'd they part with anything till they got what they conceived an equivalent. They were fond of metal of any kind and Bits of Iron & Yellow Buttons they eagerly took. One of them had a thin bit of old Iron fixed into a piece of wood as a knife. Some of them had ornaments of Necklaces, composed of a small black berry and shells, intermixed with small tubes of copper. Their Ears and the Septum of the Nose were perforated and ornamented in the same manner. They were perfectly naked except two of them that had deer skins thrown loosely over their shoulders. Their colour was not easily to be found out from the quantity of dirt and paint with which they were besmeared, but were they clean I should suppose they are something of an Olive colour. They had very bad teeth, their hair was black and grew long behind, and their Language was the most uncouth I ever heard. Their Bows were small and made from the Ewe Tree and their Arrows were strait and even of about two feet and a half long, feathered at one end and barbed and pointed with flint at the other. Some of them had also Knives of Flint. Their canoes were extremely rude and unwieldly and little calculated for any distant embarkation, they were about 17 feet in length, 4ft. 6in. in breadth at the Gunwales, and 3 feet deep, roughly hewn out of one solid tree, flat bottom'd and square at each end. After selling every little thing they had they took their leave. This Canoe had no Sea Otter skins in her but the one that went to the Discovery had a couple of small Cub Otter Skins.

25th. At night with the land wind we weigh'd and stood out to the Wd. and at daylight with a fair Soly: Breeze bore away along shore. The fair and pleasant weather continued, and on the 27th at noon we observed in the Lat: of 46.10 N. Just then the Discovery made the Signal that we were standing into Danger, we haul'd out, this situation is off Cape Disappointment from whence a very extensive Shoal stretches out

[5]This name is still in use on the Southern coast of Oregon.

and there was every appearance of an opening there, but to us the sea seem'd to break entirely across it.[6] On the 28th at Noon our Lat: was 47.32 N and in the Evening the 29th falling calm, we came to an anchor with the Discovery near Destruction Island, the place where a Boat's Crew of the Imperial Eagle commanded by Mr. Berkley[7] were barbarously murdered by the Natives as mention'd in Mears's Voyage. None of the natives came off to us but we observ'd two canoes entering a small Bay abreast of us. At about 3 we weigh'd per Signal and at 5 set Studding Sails with a moderate Soly: Breeze, but rainy weather. At daylight a strange Sail was seen in the N. W. quarter standing towards us, she hoisted American Colours. About 7 we spoke her, she proved to be the Ship Columbia of Boston commanded by a Mr Grey,[8] on the Fur trade. She had wintered on the Coast in Port Clynquot[9] in Berkley's Sound. This Mr. Grey being the man who Mr Mears[10] in his Chart has published having entered the Streights of De Fuca, and after proceeding a considerable distance up, return'd to sea again by another passage to the Northward of that by which he entered—Captn: Vancouver was desirous of obtaining from him some information respecting the Streights, he therefore hoisted a boat out, and sent an officer on board the Columbia. Mr Grey very civilly offered him any information he could possibly give him, but at the same time told him that Mr Mears had been very much misled in his information and had published what never had happened; for though he (Mr Grey) did enter the Streights of De Fuca, and proceeded a considerable distance, where he still saw an unbounded horizon, he return'd, but return'd by the same way he entered. He had been two & twenty months from Boston, and had obtained a valuable cargo of Furs. He had built a small sloop of about 45 tons at Clyoquot which was now trading to the Northward.

He gave no very favourable account of the Northern Indians whose daring and insolent spirit had carried them to very unwarrantable lengths. Several attempts had been made by them to seize his, and other Vessels on the Coast. Several people of different Ships had been treacherously murdered, and Mr Grey's Chief Mate with two of the seamen were in this manner murder'd while fishing round a point of Land, a small distance

[6]Here is seen the reason why the expedition doubted the existence of a river there until Captain Robert Gray discovered and named the Columbia River during that same year.

[7]The family and the British Columbia map-makers are particular about this name being spelled Barkley. See Captain John T. Walbran's British Columbia Coast Names, Pp. 33-35.

[8]This name is also misspelled throughout. He refers to Captain Robert Gray.

[9]He refers to Clayoquot Sound but errs in making it a part of Barkley Sound.

[10]Like errors in other names, he leaves out a letter in that of Captain John Meares.

from the Ship. This happen'd somewhere about the Lat: of 54¼°. After the Boat with the Officer return'd we made sail to the Nd. and the Columbia stretched in for the Shore. About noon we were nearly abreast of the much talked of Streights of Juan De Fuca, the Discovery made our Signal to lead in. The weather was thick and Hazy and prevented our having an observation. Cape Classet[11] at Noon bore N 20 E 2 miles. This Cape is settled by Captn: Vancouver in the Lat: of 48.23 N and the Longe: 235.38 Et.

At one o'clock we haul'd round Green Island,[12] and as we pass'd had a view of the Spiral Rock,[13] which is remarkable. On Green Island is a very large Village, and from it and the Villages on the Main, a number of canoes came off. The Natives brought a number of Otter Skins to sell, but wou'd part with none for anything but Copper & Blue Cloth Cloathing with Metal Buttons they were very eager after and we saw several with Blue Coats & round Hats. Mr Mears is very much out in the distance he makes the entrance of these Streights, he says they are 15 leagues wide, whereas the Entrance is no more than 12 leagues in breadth. In the Evening having but little wind and it coming on thick we brought up on the S. shore in 12 fathoms water and then observed the Columbia following us. She had just entered the Streights. After we came too a few fish were caught with the hook & line.

May. The following morning the 1st of May with a fine breeze at West and clear pleasant weather we got under weigh and proceeded up the Streights, and left the Columbia off Green Island laying too, bartering with the Natives for Skins. Several canoes follow'd us with skins, fish &c., to sell but the rage was copper; next to this article Cloth & wearing apparel with Brass Buttons, Copper wrist bands, Musquets & Swords were chiefly in demand.

Among other articles offered for sale was their children, several were offered for a Musquet or a Sheet of Copper. The women being the first we had seen since leaving the Sandwich Islands, had not a few attacks of Gallantry made on them by the Sailors though they were by no means inviting. But however great the difference between them and the Sandwich Islanders in point of Beauty much greater was it in point of behaviour, for here the smallest degree of indelicacy towards one of these Ladies,

[11]A former name for Captain Cook's Cape Flattery. Vancouver mentions "Classet" as the Indian name, but in a foot-note gives the name Cook had written on his chart.

[12]In 1788, Meares named this island "Ttatoosh" after the Indian chief he found there. Vancouver calls it Tatooche. See Vancouver's Voyage (2nd Ed.), Volume II, p. 46. It is not clear where the writer got this name of Green Island.

[13]This rock was supposed to be the one referred to in the De Fuca record now supposed to be a myth. Vancouver refers to it in doubtful terms.

shock'd their modesty to such a degree, and had such an effect on them, that I have seen many of them burst into tears, they would endeavour to hide themselves in the bottom of their canoes and discover the most extreme degree of uneasiness and distress.

Some of the canoes were very large and contain'd a whole family of men & women and a considerable part of their Household furniture, large Bladders full of their delicious Whale Oil was in every canoe and the little Infants in their Cradles were plied with large quantities of it by their Mothers. As we got the Breeze fresher, the canoes soon dropp'd off.

About 6 o'clock in the evening having run about 20 leagues from the Entrance in a Bite on the S. side in 8 fathoms, from this the Streights appear'd to widen, but we saw some very distant land in which there were many apparent large openings. So far as we had yet proceeded up these Streights, we had seen no opening, nor the appearance of any Harbour, on the Southern, or Continental Shore; now two or three openings presented themselves, and as the great object of the voyage was if possible to discover a communication by water between this Coast and the Lakes situated on the other side of America, the Continental Shore must of course be kept always aboard and all openings minutely explored.

Captain Vancouver was now anxious to get the Vessels into a Harbor, and while the Vessels were refitting it was intended that the boats should be sent to explore the openings now in sight. Accordingly the next morning he went himself in the Pinnace, accompanied by our Cutter (both well arm'd) to look for a Harbour. This they found at a short distance from us, and the next morning we weigh'd and made sail for it. The Harbour was a very complete one and shelter'd from all winds but the water was deep and we anchor'd in 25 fathoms water not a quarter of a mile from the Shore. This place at first was named Port Discovery, conceiving ourselves the first that had been in it, but we afterwards found ourselves mistaken, it having been visited by two Spanish Vessels, and call'd Port Quadra,[14] by which name it was continued and we settled its Lat: to be 48.2.30 N and the Long: 237.22.19 E.

Opposite to where the Vessels lay a low Point of Land run out, where there was an excellent run of Freshwater. Here the Tents and Observatory were set up, and there being plenty of Spruce Pine here a party from each Ship was sent on shore to brew Spruce Beer for the Ships' Companies. As this Beverage was well known to be a great Antiscorbutic, the people were allow'd to drink freely of it in lieu of their

[14]The crew may have continued the use of this older Spanish name, but Vancouver in text and chart retained the name Port Discovery, which continues to the present time.

Grog. As the Chatham was very open in her upper works the Carpenters of both Vessels were employ'd in Caulking her.

Not having met the Store ship at the Sandwich Islands as was expected and fearing that we might probably not see her till the next Season at those Islands, and possibly not then, should any unfortunate accident have happen'd to her in which case we should have been somewhat distress'd for Provisions particularly Bread & Flour, it was only proper to guard against such disappointments and delays. The Ships Company was therefore on the 5th put to two-thirds allowance of Bread only. This on the coast of America cou'd be no hardship as Fish is always to be got. We haul'd the Seine here generally every day, and in general with success, and we frequently got Salmon Trout in it.

On the 17th Captn: Vancouver, with Lieut: Paget, and Mr. Johnstone our Master set out in 3 Boats well Mann'd and arm'd, and victuall'd for a week, to explore the openings between this and our last anchorage which I spoke of. In the meantime the Vessels were refitting for sea. The Powder was sent on shore to dry, and being in want of Plank the Carpenters were employ'd, after the Caulking was finished, in sawing up a fine large tree, of which there were plenty, and very convenient. As there were no Inhabitants here we carried on all our operations with facility; now and then a couple or 3 canoes wou'd come in with a little Fish to sell, but this was not often, and they were very quiet and inoffensive. They were evidently a tribe that visited the Sea Coast but seldom, as they were generally clad in skins of Land animals, and during our stay here, they brough but one Sea Otter skin to sell. Once or twice they brought some fresh kill'd Venison which was very acceptable to us, for though we could everywhere observe the track of Deer, and shooting excursions were frequently made, we were never so fortunate to shoot any here.

When the time arrived for the expected return of the Boats we began impatiently to look out for them, but it was not till the 16th that they return'd to the Ships, after nine days absence. They had examined several arms or openings, which after running some distance inland closed, and they had left some extensive openings unexplored to the Eastward of this Port, where it was now intended to proceed to with the Ships. Having got everything ready for Sea, on the 18th we sail'd out of Port Quadra. The weather was fair and pleasant, indeed we had enjoy'd much fine weather in Port. After getting outside, by desire of Captn: Vancouver, we parted company with the Discovery, in order to examine an opening in the N. W. quarter, whilst she proceeded up an arm to which the Continent had been brought, to the Eastd. of Port Quadra. We cross'd

the Streights with a fine Breeze, and entered the opening about 6 o'clock in the evening and came to an anchor for the night. In the morning boats were dispatched to examine the branches which run within this opening, which employ'd us till the 23rd. It is very extensive being full of Islands.[15] The land is delightful, being in many places clear and the soil so rich that the grass in several parts grew to man height. We were surprised in such a fine country to find scarce and inhabitants, not a smoke or a village was seen, and only two small canoes with 3 people in each were met by the Boats in all their cruizing; from these, three young Fawns just kill'd were purchased. We saw several Deer on the sides of the rising grounds, but could never kill any. The navigation in this place so full of Rocks and small Islands was intricate and dangerous. On the 21st we touch'd a Rock on one side, whilst at the other we had twenty-two fathoms water.

On the 23rd we again enter'd the Streights but a different opening to that we came in at. We cross'd over and about Noon got into the arm up which the Discovery went when we parted from her. Here we met with a small tribe of Indians who came off to sell a little fish, Bows & Arrows, and some few skins of Land Animals. We observ'd among them some articles we knew they must have got our of the Discovery, and they soon made sufficient (sic) that she was up the arm. The people spoke a different language from the Indians we saw at the entrance of Dufuca's Streights though little else about them appeared different for they were equally as dirty. It seemed evident that their intercourse with Ships had been limited (if indeed they ever had any) from their surprize and astonishment at many things, and their not having about them any European articles whatever except it might be a knife, but they had a very good idea of bartering and wou'd not part with anything without the value of it. Copper was yet the rage.

(To be continued.)

BOOK REVIEWS

THE CANOE AND THE SADDLE, OR KLALAM AND KLICKATAT. By Theodore Winthrop, to which are now first added his Western Letters and Journals. Edited, with an Introduction and Notes, by John H. Williams. With sixteen color plates and more than one hundred other illustrations. Royal 8vo. half vellum. (Tacoma, John H. Williams, Publisher, 1913. Pp. XXVI, 332. $5.00 net; express 30 cents extra.)

The number of books properly classed as "Northwest Americana" is surprisingly small.

Through the instrumentality of Mr. John H. Willaims, of Tacoma, Winthrop's "Canoe and Saddle" enjoys the distinction of recently appearing in new form, enlarged, annotated and illustrated. The new book retains all we older men and women have prized for half a century, and, in addition, the author's complete Western travels are presented to us in a volume to delight every lover of good and beautiful books.

Mr. Williams' previous work had been good preparation for this still more important undertaking. A lifelong student and newspaper editor, he is not only an experienced writer, but also an enthusiast for the Northwest, to which he has given two notable books of his own, "The Mountain That Was 'God'" and "The Guardians of the Columbia." No other volumes so well and so briefly tell so much of the scenery, physical geography and Indian lore of our North Pacific Wonderland. It was natural that he should see in Winthrop's graphic story the foundation for an artistic book, which would, by reason of its added Winthrop material and its editor's notes and illustrations, be largely a new work.

Mr. Williams has restored in a sub title Winthrop's own name for the book, "Klalam and Klickatat."

Two survivors of that early period, Gen. Henry C. Hodges, who, as a lieutenant of the Fourth U. S. Infantry, was adjutant of Capt. McClellan's railway reconnaissance in the Cascades, and Col. E. Jay Allen, builder of the famous "Citizens' Road," which Winthrop describes with much humor, contribute interesting recollections of the brilliant young adventurer, and of events in which he and they played a part in that eventful summer.

In the spring of 1853, Theodore Winthrop, then only twenty-five, came to the Pacific Coast from Panama. Five years earlier he had been graduated from Yale, with honors in languages and history. Not of

robust constitution, he sought health by life in the open air. Two years were passed in the south of Europe, mainly in travel on foot amid the Alps and in the Mediterranean countries. Study of the scenery and historical monuments of those lands developed a naturally poetic and imaginative mind, and prepared him to appreciate the vast panorama that spread before him as he traveled from the Isthmus to California, thence, after a brief stay in San Francisco, up the coast by steamer to the Columbia, overland from there to Puget Sound, and finally across the Cascades and through our great "Inland Empire," homeward bound, to Salt Lake and Fort Laramie. This journey of half a year, then almost unprecedented, is fully recorded in his letters and journals which Mr. Williams has recovered for us.

In these wanderings Winthrop visited the young communities of the Northwest, Portland, Salem, Vancouver, The Dalles, Olympia, Nisqually, Steilacoom, Port Townsend, Victoria. He studied its scenery, resources and people. He quickly won the regard of pioneer leaders, army officers, Hudson's Bay Company factors, and of the humbler settlers as well, by a hearty democratic appreciation of the meaning of their work in founding future states. It was just this quality, as Mr. Williams has well shown, that enabled Winthrop to understand the raw west. To a real liking for people add his well trained powers of observation, unfailing humor, a vivid imagination and a tireless love of adventure, and we have the secret of his success as a painter of the frontier and its life.

In his delightful introduction Mr. Williams points out and emphasizes these qualities:

"Winthrop was probably better fitted to study and portray the West than any other Eastern man who attempted to describe it. His books and still more his private letters and journals show him wholly free from that tenderfoot superiority of tone found in most of the contemporary writings of Eastern men who visited the frontier. In an age when sectionalism was fast driving toward civil war, his point of view was broadly national. His pride in his country as a whole had only been deepened by education and foreign travel. He had come home from Europe feeling the value to humanity of the struggle and opportunities presented by the conquest of the new continent. In the rough battle with the forest, in the stumpy farms on the little clearings, in the crude road that would link the infant settlements with the outside world, he recognized the very processes that had laid strong the foundations of the republic to which later he so gladly gave his life. Ungainly as was the present, this descendant of the great governors of Massachusetts and Connecticut saw in it the promise of a splendid and beneficent future.

"Most of our writers in the years preceding the Civil War were either occupied with sectional discussions and local traditions, or were looking to Europe and the past for their inspiration. * * * For

fiction, our people read 'Uncle Tom's Cabin' and reprints of the English novelists. Our literature had not yet discovered the West. Winthrop's Western books, 'The Canoe and the Saddle' and 'John Brent,' minted new ore."

George William Curtis, who was Winthrop's neighbor on Staten Island and his closest friend in the years just before the war, bore similar testimony, in a conversation with Mr. Williams more than twenty years ago:

"Winthrop's death was as great a loss to American letters as was that of John Keats to English poetry. He was far ahead of his time in thinking continentally. Cut off before his prime, his books, brilliant as they are, are the books of a young man. But he had vision and power, and had he lived to improve his art, I have always believed that he might have become the strongest, because the most truly American, of our writers."

Readers of Books of Old Oregon are all familiar with the early "Canoe and Saddle." It was the only work in lighter vein descriptive of conditions on the ultimate frontier, when we had here a white population vastly outnumbered by the Indians. The new volume will appeal to surviving pioneers, to Native Sons and Daughters, and to all who are genuinely interested in Northwestern history.

The original "Canoe and Saddle" tells only of its author's last days in Washington Territory. It recounts his swift trip by boat, with the celebrated Clallam chief, the "Duke of York," from Port Townsend to Fort Nisqually, and thence under other Indian guidance across Naches Pass to The Dalles. For the second part of his journey he had as his guide a treacherous young Indian whom he calls "Loolowcan the Frowsy," but who was in real life, as Mr. Williams discovered from an entry in the old "Journal of Events" kept by the Hudson's Bay Company at Nisqually, no less notorious a character than Qualchen, son of the chief Owhi. Both of these Klickitats, father and son, are remembered as trouble-makers in our territorial history, and both paid with their lives for the parts they took in the great Indian war of 1855-7. The role played by Qualchen in murdering the Indian agent, A. J. Bolon, and thus starting that war, is now well known.

It is proof of Winthrop's nerve that even after he saw the shifty nature of his guide, he refused to heed the warnings of Allen and his fellow road-builders, whom he met in the Cascades, but pushed ahead with him over the mountains to the Yakima country, where white men were scarcer even than on the Sound. Later, he may have realized that but for the presence of McClellan's soldiers on the Naches, and for the long arm of the Hudson's Bay Company, which had outfitted him for his trip, he probably would have anticipated the fate of Bolon. But he tells of his

adventure as gaily as if he had felt no danger, and with a zest that make his own enjoyment of its incidents contagious.

"The Canoe and the Saddle' was the first book to put our Northwestern scenery into literature. Its account of Puget Sound, of the Cascades with their forests, canyons, ranges and snow-peaks, and of the Columbia basin, stamps Winthrop as a true poet and lover of nature. No better descriptive writing has yet been inspired by the Northwest.

The original "Canoe and Saddle" had a supplement describing Panama as Winthrop saw it in 1852 and 1854. Mr. Williams has very properly omitted this, since it had no relevancy to the book; and he has substituted Winthrop's letters and journals, which, with other new matter already mentioned, make up more than a third of the volume. This part of the book is of especial value to students of Western history, and of absorbing interest to the few remaining pioneers who, like the writer, crossed the plains in a "prairie schooner."

In 1852, our wagon train was part of the great migration westward over South Pass in the Rockies. From Fort Hall we came across the Blue Mountains to The Dalles. A year later Winthrop traveled homeward practically over the same route. His journals, with their brief but illuminating descriptions of people and scenes that presented themselves as he rode swiftly eastward, bring back memories of our five months' journey along the old "Oregon Trail." Most of his names of men and places, his notes of the great army of settlers pushing forward to California and the Northwest, his accounts of the British recruits for Mormonism, which he later expanded in his stirring Western novel, "John Brent," and his pen-pictures of the wild lands that are even now just beginning to yield to irrigation and settlement,—all this will be appreciated by every immigrant of that early day. Allowing for their personal appeal to me as a pioneer, I still feel that Winthrop's letters and journals add as much to the value of Mr. Williams's edition as they do to its scope.

Winthrop's monologues in Chinook are idiomatically correct, but the proof-reading of the original was done by persons unfamiliar with the "jargon," and a number of typographical errors occurred. Unfortunately, some of these have been perpetuated in the new edition. The Chinook vocabularly, however, has been revised and materially improved by Dr. C. M. Buchanan, Indian agent at Tulalip.

The editor's notes are accurate, succinct and interesting. He has happily kept in view the Eastern reader who knows little of the West, but he has not on that account overloaded the book with notes. Several passages, indeed, would bear further annotation. The appendixes are valuable for the light they throw on the methods of McClellan, the build-

ing of the heroic road across the Naches, our Indian place names, and other matters of historic interest.

Mr. Williams's success in selecting the illustrations testifies to experience and much study, and would alone make the volume noteworthy. The pictures are of great historical value, and they really illustrate the text. There are sixteen magnificent plates in color and forty-eight halftones. These show the Sound, the Columbia, the Cascades with all their snow-peaks from Mt. Hood northward; many scenes of Indian life, our coast cities in their infancy, the army posts and Hudson's Bay forts. More than sixty line etchings in the text give us portraits of the important personages of the book, white and Indian. Several of the illustrations are from celebrated paintings, others from rare books, or from early photographs treasured by our Northwestern historical societies and museums, the National Museum at Washington, and the great American Museum of Natural History in New York. Mr. Williams himself made a trip with a photographer across Naches Pass and obtained splendid views of Winthrop's route through a region now rarely visited.

This book is of the highest value to students of our Western history, and of such beauty and interest as make it a joy to all readers. I bespeak for it a place in every public and home library in the Northwest.

CLARENCE B. BAGLEY.

EARLY HISTORY OF IDAHO. By Ex-Governor W. J. McConnell. (Caldwell, Idaho, The Caxton Printers, 1913. Pp. 420.)

It has been somewhat the fashion (and a very good fashion it is) of late years by retired public men, Governors, Senators and others, to leave in the form of reminiscences or histories the record of the events in which they were participants.

Among recent volumes in this field we find that W. J. McConnell, twice honored and Honorable, as Governor and Senator, has given the world a view of the Idaho of which he was one of the builders.

This volume may be considered as having official endorsement, for it is authorized by the Idaho legislature.

Governor McConnell is well qualified for the work. Long residence in the great state so well styled the "Gem of the Mountains," an intimate acquaintance with affairs from the days of the Vigilantes to date, an accurate memory, and a clear, simple and vivid style, all qualify the author to tell the story of Idaho.

Broadly speaking, we may note that the book consists of two main features. The first is a series of events in the days of the "bad man,"

the mining and Indian era. The second is largely composed of extracts from legislative sessions and judicial proceedings. In this material and the handling of it are both the strength and weakness of the book. For the account of the desperadoes, though vivid, interesting, and no doubt characteristic of that period, occupies so much space as to give a disproportionate importance to it. The extensive extracts from legislative and court proceedings, though valuable, lack the introductions and explanatory connections desirable for a continuous story. They therefore lack perspective and give a fragmentary impression. Moreover the two types of matter are rather incongruous, one being so much of a "Wild West" type of narrative and the other suggesting a small volume of session laws.

There are occasional slips in names and statements indicating imperfect proof-reading. On page 31 we find *William* P. Hunt. It should be *Wilson*. On page 32 it is stated that the Hunt party was near the site of old Fort Boise on Dec. 24. This could not be possible for they were in the Grand Ronde on New Year's Day and had been struggling for many days along Snake River in the vicinity of the present Huntington and up Powder River into the present Baker Valley. On page 33 we find *Worth* for *Wyeth*. We find Spalding spelled Spaulding, and De Smet appears as Demet.

But these and other slips are relatively of little moment and do not detract from the general interest and value of the volume.

Among the many items of interest in the history of legislative acts is the mention on page 370 of the fact that the Idaho Territorial Legislature acted as a divorce court and that a number of discordant couples were separated by act of legislature. One historical matter of much interest, which has almost drifted from the remembrance of the present time is the effort made in both Idaho and Washington, as well as Congress, to attach Northern Idaho to Washington, in 1885-6, and the final failure of the congressional bill to go into effect.

This book of Governor McConnell may certainly be regarded as a valuable contribution to the historical literature of our section.

W. D. Lyman.

Following Old Trails. By Arthur L. Stone. (Missoula, Montana, Morton J. Elrod, 1913. Pp. 304.)

The author of this book has been for some years and still is the editor of "The Missoulian," the leading daily newspaper of the Bitter Root Valley in Montana. From personal experiences and acquaintances he gradually accumulated the material for a series of articles entitled Old

Trails, or Trail Stories, which appeared in the Sunday editions of his paper during the years 1911 and 1912. These articles, written in free newspaper style and without claim for historical accuracy, have now been gathered together in book form and published by Prof. Elrod of the University of Montana, this at the request of numerous residents of Western Montana, who recognized the value of the contributions and the wisdom of preserving them. In his foreword the author frankly states his reluctance to grant the request and the unworthiness of the material for book form, but has wisely refrained from any revision or amplification.

Mr. Stone has made good use of his acquaintance with localities and men and events prominent in the exploration and settlement and growth of Western Montana, and his book furnishes the reader with a glimpse of the wealth of historic material to be had for the digging in that comparatively new state. It has not been appreciated by many that in point of time the Indian trade near the head waters of Clark Fork of the Columbia antedated that at Astoria, and that the railroads traversing Montana follow for miles the lines of travel early in use by explorer, fur trader, missionary, prospector and immigrant. Many tracks of these various periods of pioneering have been actually traveled by Mr. Stone, in some instances with the very men who had used them during the fifties and sixties; of others he has learned from the lips of those yet living to tell the story, and of others he has read the authoritative sources. With Dr. Elliott Coues he personally followed the trail of Lewis and Clark through the Bitter Root Valley, with Judge Woody (a Montana pioneer of 1857 who contributed to this Quarterly in No. 4 of Vol. 3) he climbed Gibson Pass, the main range of the Rockies, with Duncan McDonald, who was born on the Salish reservation in 1849, he has traveled along the Jocko, and of the deeds of the Vigilantes he had the facts from the very men who took active part in that movement.

There are numerous errors apparent to the close student of history but these may be overlooked in an appreciation of the actual value of such a contribution, to the pioneer families of Montana to whom it is dedicated and to the large number of casual readers who get their first incentive for further reading and study from such a source. The book is plainly but well bound and illustrated. Doubtless the suggestion for its publication came from the meeting of the Society of Montana Pioneers at Missoula in September, 1913, which meeting it was the privilege of the writer of this review to attend, and its early appearance is an example of how they do things in Montana when they set out to.

T. C. Elliott.

PIONEER TALES OF THE OREGON TRAIL. By Charles Dawson. (Topeka, Crane and Company, 1912. Pp. 488.)

This book relates almost entirely to the Oregon Trail and other matters and people in Jefferson county, Nebraska. In fact, Jefferson county is made a secondary part of the title. It is full of incidents connected with the early settlements of that locality, in the 1850s, 1860s and into the 1870s. It goes back of those dates in telling of the coming of the Spaniards in the 1500s, of the French in the 1700s and of the Americans in the first years of the 1800s. The wars of the Indians and with the Indians occupy considerable space, and also the lawless acts of the white frontiersmen. The Trail is mentioned continually in connection with these events, and with the great movements of immigration to Oregon, Utah and California before the completion of the Union Pacific Railroad. The book contains a great number of short biographies, and sightly illustrations, chiefly portraits. No doubt this work is highly prized in its home locality, and in future years will there be looked upon as a first service historical authority.

The reviewer somewhat depreciates the use of "Trail" in connection with the magnificent highway referred to. "Trail" is a recent day appellation. It was the finest and greatest road in the United States, and probably in the world, being two thousand miles in length; of great width, six or eight teams driving abreast; of easy grades and of good, surface—in nowise resembling the ordinary understanding of a trail.

How truthful and reliable these Nebraska tales are it is, of course, impossible for one at this distance to say. We will suppose they are all right. Some other statements are not. What will be thought, for instance, of this sentence, taken from page 22: "Prior to Dr. White's band of colonists, a Dr. Whitman, who was a missionary in the Puget Sound country, where he had settled in 1835 with a colony of Americans, and where there were only about 150 white people living at this early date, was sent to Washington, D. C., to place the situation of that section before Congress, setting forth the fears of the American residents that England had intentions of forcibly adding this vast country to her domain."

THOMAS W. PROSCH.

CONTEMPORARY HISTORY, 1877-1913. By Charles A. Beard, Associate Professor of Politics in Columbia University. (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1914, Pp. 397.)

Professor Beard, whose work in opening new paths in historical study ranks him among the most virile writers and thinkers, breaks another

historical tradition in the present volume. Constantly being confronted by the facts that students know almost nothing of the elementary facts of American history since the Civil War, Professor Beard concluded to break down one reason for it—by presenting a handy guide to contemporary history.

This volume like all Professor Beard's writings is vigorous, stimulating and incisive. It is not meant to be the final word, but it is hoped that it will stimulate "on the part of the student some of that free play of mind which Matthew Arnold has shown to be so helpful in literary criticism." The work was well worth doing and has been exceptionally well done.

VIRGINIA UNDER THE STUARTS, 1607-1688. By Thomas J. Wertenbaker, Ph. D. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1914. Pp. 271.)

Doctor Wertenbaker presents a neatly printed volume in which the story of Virginia's history is re-written in the light of the results of modern research into the documentary side of Virginia's early colonial history. He has made no claims of originality but appreciating the need of a history of Virginia which takes into account the newer discoveries of manuscripts, legislative journals and letters, and the work put forth in monographs, he has rewritten the account. Students of Virginia history who have not had access to this new material, or the time to digest it will thoroughly appreciate Doctor Wertenbaker's services. May his good example be followed by others.

LES ETATS-UNIS D'AMERIQUE. By Baron D'Estournelles de Constant. (Paris, Librairie Armand Colin, 1913. Pp. 536. 5 fr.)

This volume of observations upon the United States is based upon the author's extended trip through this country in the year 1911. While on his journey he wrote a series of letters for publication in "Le Temps" of Paris and these letters have been revised and printed in book form. The volume forms a most interesting study of American characteristics as seen by this distinguished foreigner. With rare discernment he has caught the spirit of all that is best in our American life and the book should go far toward cementing the friendly relations existing between France and the United States. While written primarily for his own countrymen, it will be read with great pleasure by those whose activities are so appreciatively described. Particularly complimentary are the author's impressions of Seattle and the Pacific Northwest.

THE POWER OF IDEALS IN AMERICAN HISTORY. By E. D. Adams, Ph. D. Professor of History, Leland Stanford, Jr. University. (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1913. Pp. 159.)

Five lectures delivered at Yale University on The Responsibilities of Citizenship are collected by Professor Adams into a handsome and stimulating little volume. In a sense they are an offset to the prevailing emphasis in American History upon economic and geopraphic influences, for Professor Adams, without denying the influence of these factors, emphasizes the power of five ideals that have played a large part in American History. These ideals are nationality, anti-slavery, manifest destiny, religion and democracy.

LEGENDS AND TRADITIONS OF NORTHWEST HISTORY. By Glenn N. Ranck. (Vancouver, Washington, 1914. Pp. 152.)

The title does not fully cover this book and it is doubtful if any title could do so. It comprises a collection of Mr. Ranck's writings in prose and verse. Mr. Ranck was born in the city of Vancouver where he still lives. He served in the Spanish American war and has held many public offices including that of legislator and register of the United States Land Office. He has a lively interest in the dramatic incidents of Northwestern history and these he has tried to catch in the meshes of his verse and colorful prose.

The book makes an interesting addition to the growing literature of the Northwest. Future writers are sure to find helpful suggestions here of fact and fancy. Present day readers will find the book entertaining as it springs from one of the most historic portions of the Pacific Coast.

ANNUAL REPORT, 1911, VOLUME *II*. By American Historical Association. (Washington, 1913. Pp. 759.)

This is an important addition to Americana. It does not, however, touch the Northwest and therefore will receive no extended notice in this Quarterly. It comprises the correspondence of Robert Toombs, Alexander H. Stephens, and Howell Cobb.

LIST OF REFERENCES ON THE HISTORY OF THE WEST. By Frederick Jackson Turner. (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1913. Pp. 129.)

Professor Turner will participate in the summer sessions of the University of Oregon and the University of Washington during 1914. Thus the pamphlet, prepared for Harvard University, will have a distinct

interest for many on the Pacific Coast. Aside from that peculiar interest it has an important value for all students and writers of Western history for he cites a wealth of authorities which he has grouped in handy workable form.

A HISTORY OF EDUCATION IN MODERN TIMES. By Frank Pierreport Graves. (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1913. Pp. 410. $1.10 net.)

This book does not particularly relate to the Pacific Coast, but it deserves mention here because the author was for a number of years President of the University of Washington. Dr. Graves now has five volumes to his credit mostly in this field of the history of education. His work is attracting favorable attention and has led to repeated promotions from one university to another, the last being to the University of Pennsylvania.

A HUMANITARIAN STUDY OF THE COMING IMMIGRATION PROBLEM ON THE PACIFIC COAST. By Charles W. Blanpied. (San Francisco, 1913. Pp. 63.)

This is a digest of the proceedings of the Pacific Coast Immigration Congress held in San Francisco, April 14-15, 1913, and of the Immigration Congress held in Tacoma, February 21-22, 1912. The chief value of the pamphlet lies in its reflection of the effort by the awakened citizenship of the Pacific Coast to prepare for problems that are sure to arise on the completion of the Panama canal.

REPORT OF THE MINISTER OF LANDS FOR THE PROVINCE OF BRITISH COLUMBIA FOR 1913. By William R. Ross. (Victoria, William H. Cullin, Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty, 1914. Pp. 505.)

With maps, illustrations, tables of statistics and voluminous descriptive matter, this book is useful to students as it covers what was once a part of the Old Oregon Country. The province of British Columbia does many things in this line and it always does them well.

THE UNIVERSAL EXPOSITION OF 1904. By David R. Francis. (St. Louis, Louisiana Purchase Exposition Company, 1913. 2 Volumes. Pp. 703 and 431.)

Since there have been two expositions in the Pacific Northwest and another, much larger one, is being built in San Francisco for the year 1915, these books have a distinct interest for the Pacific Coast. There

is another and more intimate reason for such interest. The Western states participated in the Louisiana Purchase Exposition which facts are revealed in the letter press and the beautiful illustrations of the two large volumes. The books are sent with the compliments of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition Company and bear the autograph of its President, David R. Francis.

THE MOUNTAINEER, SECOND OLYMPIA NUMBER. (Seattle, The Mountaineers, Incorporated, 1913. Pp. 87.)

MAZAMA. (Portland, Oregon, The Mazamas, 1913. Pp. 85.)

SIERRA CLUB BULLETIN, JANUARY, 1914. (San Francisco, Sierra Club, 1914. Pp. 125-220.)

These three publications cover the last year's mountaineering in Washington, Oregon and California. They are all beautifully illustrated. With the exception of one article the contents of The Mountaineer are devoted wholly to the mountains, flowers, glaciers and rivers of Washington. The other two publications deal with their own localities and yet each of them carry articles also about mountain explorations in Washington. Readers of this Quarterly will therefore find valuable material in all three of these beautiful mountain books.

JOURNAL FROM DECEMBER, 1836, TO OCTOBER, 1837. By William H. Gray. (Walla Walla, Whitman College Quarterly, Volume XVI, No. 2. June, 1913. Pp. 79.)

Mr. Gray was the lay member of the famous Whitman mission. This fragment is all that is now known to be in existence of Gray's journal. It is here published for the first time. The manuscript was obtained from Mrs. Jacob Kamm (nee Caroline Gray) of Portland, Oregon. The major portion of the journal tells of a journey "back to the states" from the mission. But it also tells of doings at the missions of Whitman and Spalding and mentions a number of the Hudson's Bay Company men of that day. Whitman College is to be congratulated for giving the Northwest this interesting piece of source material.

THE VANISHING RACE, THE LAST GREAT INDIAN COUNCIL. By Dr. Joseph K. Dixon. (New York, Doubleday, Page & Company, 1913. Pp. 231. $3.50.)

This is a most beautiful book of the Indian. The author had charge of Rodman Wanamaker's three expeditions to study the Indian. On these

expeditions the author made some wonderfully good pictures of the Indian. Eighty photogravures of these pictures illustrate this book. They would tell the story without words. The frontispiece is "The Last Outpost" and the last picture is "The Empty Saddle." The letter press tells the story of a great, intelligent effort to help the Indian enter upon a new career as a citizen of the United States. The author, while passing through Seattle on his last expedition, told the present reviewer that he believed that if the United States had spent half as much time and effort on the citizenship of the Indian as had been spent on the negro half of our National Congress would now be composed of Indians. He is enthusiastic over the possible future of the Indian and his enthusiasm pervades the pages of this attractive and valuable book.

Michigan Historical Commission, and Suggestions for Local Historical Societies and Writers in Michigan. By George Newman Fuller, Secretary. (Lansing, State Printers, 1913, Pp. 41 and 45.)

These are the first two bulletins of the Michigan Historical Commission. Their titles show how sensibly that state is proceeding in this important field of work.

Other Books Received

Alabama Department of Archives and History. Alabama Official and Statistical Register. Compiled by Thomas M. Owen. (Montgomery, Brown, 1913. Pp. 344.)

Clodd, Edward. The Childhood of the world. A simple account of man's origin and early history. (N. Y. Macmillan, 1914. Pp. 240. $1.25.)

Dwight, Margaret Van Horn. A Journey to Ohio in 1810. Edited by Max Farrand. (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1913. Pp. 64.)

Field Museum of Natural History. Annual Report for the year 1913. (Chicago, Field Museum, 1914. Pp. 273-363.)

Hengelmuller, Ladislas Baron. Hungary's Fight for National Existence; or, The History of the Great Uprising Led by Francis Rakoczi II, 1703-1711. (N. Y. Macmillan, 1913. Pp. 342. $3.25.)

INNES, ARTHUR D. History of England and the British Empire. To be in four volumes. Volume 1, to 1485; Volume 2, 1585-1688. (N. Y. Macmillan, 1913. Pp. 539; 553. Each, $1.60.)

INTERNATIONAL JOINT COMMISSION. Progress Report On the Reference by the United States and Canada in re Levels of the Lake of the Woods. (Washington Govt. 1914. Pp. 186.)

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS. Report for the year ending June 30, 1913. (Washington, Govt. 1913. Pp. 269.)

MACAULAY, LORD. History of England From the Accession of James II. Edited by Charles Harding Firth. To be in six volumes. (London, Macmillan, 1913. Volume 1, Pp. 516. $3.25.)

MORLEY, JOHN. On History and Politics. (N. Y. Macmillan, 1914. Pp. 201. $1.)

OGILVIE, WILLIAM. Early Days on the Yukon. The Story of its Gold Finds. (London, Lane, 1913. Pp. 306. $1.50.)

SEATTLE BAR ASSOCIATION. Annual Report, 1913. (Seattle, Association, 1913. Pp. 72.)

TAFT, WILLIAM HOWARD. Popular Government; Its Essence, Its Permanence and Its Perils. (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1913. Pp. 283. $1.15.)

VEDDER, HENRY C. The Reformation in Germany. (N. Y. Macmillan, 1914. Pp. 466. $3.)

WASHINGTON STATE BAR ASSOCIATION. Proceedings of the Twenty-Fifth Annual Convention, 1913. (Olympia, Association, 1913. Pp. 204.)

NEWS DEPARTMENT

Course in Current Events

The Department of History in the University of Washington has begun a course on Contemporary History running the second semester. The course is given by various men on problems of historical import of the last decade. Among the questions handled are: The Monroe Doctrine; China as a Republic; the Mexican Situation; the Undoing of Ireland; The Balkan Question; the Growth of a Religion of Democracy; the Economic Interpretation of History; the Relation of Natural Science to History; German Imperialism; etc. The course is open to all classes except the freshman; about one hundred students have elected the course. while the public increased the audience to about two hundred persons at each lecture.

History Teachers' Club

On Saturday noon, March 21st, at the Good Eats Cafeteria, Seattle, twelve history teachers of the grades, high schools and University met and discussed the need and desirability of the formation of a History Club. Such a club has had a successful life of six years at San Francisco dealing with history in the different trades and professions—men from these walks give the history men the value of history to their lines of work. This idea was accepted by those present on Saturday; and another question was urged as a worthy and vital question for mutual discussion: the relation of the three parts of the public school system to history teaching on the basis of the belief that a better understanding among the three sets of teachers would result in good to the pupils. It was unanimously voted to attempt such a club to deal in the beginning with these two subjects. The question of time, place of meeting, organization, and the first program was left to Mr. Flemming, Seattle, and his committee of three. He hopes to have the first meeting early in May in Seattle. It was also the hope that the Club could serve the interests of the teachers in the grades and high schools of Seattle, Tacoma, Everett, and other cities about the Sound, and the University. Professor J. N. Bowman, of the University, was elected temporary chairman.

Seattle Historical Society

A number of ladies, mostly of pioneer families, have organized and incorporated the Seattle Historical Society. The first officers selected are

as follows: President, Mrs. Morgan J. Carkeek; vice-president, Mrs. William Pitt Trimble; secretary, Mrs. Redick H. McKee; treasurer, Mrs. William F. Prosser; historian, Mrs. Thomas W. Prosch; trustees, Judge C. H. Hanford, Judge George Donworth, Judge R. B. Albertson, Miss M. L. Denny, Lawrence J. Colman and Professor E. S. Meany. Manuscript records of the old pioneetrs are being collected, as also are pictures, books, diaries and relics. Cooperation has been cheerfully extended by Librarian W. E. Henry and Curator of the Museum F. S. Hall, of the University of Washington. That cooperation has been accepted and for the present, at least, the Society's collections will be cared for at the University. There is every indication that this new organization will do much toward awakening interest in the luring field of local history.

Death of an Efficient Man

While going home on the evening of November 1, A. F. Muhr dropped dead in the street car. The event proved a shock to a wide circle of friends and acquaintances. For many years Mr. Muhr had been in charge of the photographic studio of Edward S. Curtis. It was he who gave personal attention to the development of the negatives made in the field by Mr. Curtis for his monumental work on the North American Indian. In the prefaces of those great volumes, Mr. Curtis has frequently commended the skill, patience and efficiency of his prized assistant. Before coming to Seattle, Mr. Muhr had made a name for his own photographs of Indians, many of which received high awards at exhibitions. With all his talent he was a very modest man and was loved by all who knew him.

History of Thurston County

A brief prospectus from Olympia announces the fact that the Thurston County Pioneer Association plans to publish a volume in 1914 to contain the proceedings of the organization from its inception four years ago. There will be included personal reminiscenses of old-time residents and other data, "the whole to form a beginning and foundation for the future permanent and reliable history of the county." The little prospectus is issued for the association and is signed by Allen Weir, secretary, and Mrs. G. E. Blankenship, treasurer. The scope of the proposed book will depend upon the response received from the prospectus.

Twenty-Ninth Annual Meeting of the American Historical Association

There are several matters pertaining to the twenty-ninth annual meeting of the American Historical Association which should be of interest to the historians of the Pacific Coast.

In the first place, notwithstanding the great distance to Charleston, South Carolina, there were three delegates from the Pacific Coast—Professors H. Morse Stephens and R. F. Schloz of the University of California and Professor Edmond S. Meany of the University of Washington.

During the last year efforts have been made to get a fuller expression of sentiment from the general membership as to the selection of officers. On a committee for that purpose Professor E. B. Krehbiel of Stanford University represented the Pacific Coast. At his request the members of the Association in the University of Washington held a meeting and by unanimous choice selected Professor George Lincoln Burr of Cornell for the position of second vice-president to be promoted, as is the custom, to the presidency. Others must have had the same thing in mind, for Professor Burr was regularly nominated and elected.

Professor H. Morse Stephens of the University of California was promoted to the first vice-presidency and will become president in 1915. That is especially fortunate as the Association will hold an extra meeting in San Francisco during the summer of that year. President Stephens will then be the chief host to the organization at his own home.

Similarly, Professor A. C. McLoughlin of the University of Chicago will serve as president during 1914, when the regular meeting will be held in Chicago.

Preparations are already under way for the special meeting in San Francisco in 1915. The chairman of the general committee is Rudolph Julius Taussig, Secretary of the Panama Pacific International Exposition Company, and Professor E. D. Adams of Stanford University is chairman of the programme committee. The programme will deal wholly with historical problems of countries bordering on the Pacific Ocean.

At the Charleston meeting the Pacific Coast was recognized further by having Professor H. E. Bolton of the University of California placed on the Historical Manuscripts Commission; F. J. Teggart of the University of California on the Committee on Bibliography; Professor William A. Morris of the University of California on the General Committee; Professor Joseph Schafer of the University of Oregon on the Committee on Nominations.

A citizen of the State of Washington on passing through Virginia will see much of interest to remind him of the great American for whom his State is named. The Virginia State Historical Society is housed in Richmond in the building used by General Robert E. Lee as a residence during the Civil War. Among the prized collections there is a musket

carried to the Pacific Coast and back by a member of the Lewis and Clark Expedition.

Probably the most interesting portion of the programmes at the South Carolina meetings was that devoted to military history. There were several papers relating to Charleston's part in the Civil War and during the same afternoon the entire convention was taken on an excursion to Fort Sumter, a memorable event for the northern visitors.

NORTHWESTERN HISTORY SYLLABUS

[The aim of this department is to furnish outlines that will aid those who wish to study the subject systematically. It is expected that its greatest use will be as a guide for members of women's clubs, literary societies, and classes in colleges or high schools. It will be a form of university extension without the theses and examinations necessary for the earning of credits toward a degree.]

IX. Territory of Oregon

1. Treaty of 1846.
   a. Northern boundary fixed.
   b. Accepted as a compromise.
   c. Really a diplomatic triumph.
2. Organic Law of Oregon.
   a. Congress passed the act, 14 August, 1848.
   b. Boundaries from 42 degrees to 49 degrees and from Rocky Mountains to Pacific Ocean.
3. First Officers.
   a. Governorship refused by Abraham Lincoln.
   b. Accepted by General Joseph Lane.
   c. Joseph Meek, United States Marshal.
   d. Samuel R. Thurston, Delegate to Congress.
4. Laws.
   a. Anti-slavery laws.
   b. New counties created.
5. Gold Excitement.
   a. Settlers diverted to California.
   b. Gold-dust currency.
   c. California precedes Oregon into Union.
6. Division of Oregon.
   a. Washington Territory created, 1853.
7. Indian Wars.
   a. Rogue River War.
   b. Other wars and treaties.

8. Oregon Attains Statehood.
   a. Date, February 14, 1859.
   b. First United States Senators.
   c. Other officers of new state.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.—Books for the above outline are easily available in most of the libraries in the Northwest. New ones are appearing continually, but the ones cited below will cover the field satisfactorilly.

BANCROFT, HUBERT HOWE. Works of. Vol. XXX. This is Vol. II. of his History of Oregon. It starts with "Condition of Affairs in 1848" and carries the narrative to the year 1888.

COMAN, KATHARINE. Economic Beginnings of the Far West. Vol. II, Pp. 113-166. This is one of the newer books. The chapter cited is entitled: "Acquisition of Oregon," the latter part of which bears especially on this outline.

DEADY, M. P. The Organic and Other General Laws of Oregon, 1845-1864. The official publication of Oregon laws, compiled by Judge Deady and published by H. L. Pittock, Public Printer, 1866, is a convenient form in which to study the laws of Oregon Territory.

JOHNSON, SIDONA V. A Short History of Oregon. Part Four of this compact little book deals with the portion of Oregon history under consideration.

MEANY, EDMOND S. History of the State of Washington. Consult chapter XV and the first part of chapter XVI.

SCHAFER, JOSEPH. A History of the Pacific Northwest. Chapters XIV, XV, and XVI will be helpful for this study.

WOODWARD, WALTER C. Political Parties in Oregon, 1843-1868. This new book should be in all Northwestern libraries. Its title conveys its true usefulness for a study of Oregon in territorial and early statehood days.

HISTORY TEACHERS' SECTION

The History Teachers' Section, inaugurated in this number, will be edited by various members of the editorial staff. The Section will be devoted to questions and problems of interest to the teacher of history in the high schools and colleges. This first number will be given to a survey of the magazines edited in the interest of the teaching of history.

The HISTORY TEACHERS MAGAZINE is edited by the McKinley Publishing Co., Philadelphia, under the supervision of a committee of the American Historical Association. The first number appeared September 1909, under the sole editorship of Dr. Albert E. McKinley; financial difficulties arose and caused the suspension of publication from June, 1911, to February, 1912, when it came under the present supervision of the American Historical Association. The contents cover a wide range of interests: Articles of a general character on subject matter or methodology of history; Reports from the Historical Field; Periodical Literature; Book Reviews; and Recent Historical Publications. In the January, 1914, number, Waldo L. Cook, of the Springfield (Mass.) Republican, published the address he gave before the New England History Teachers' Association last April on The Press in its Relation to History. He discussed in full the "cause of the reporter," and concluded that the case "might alsot be said to be in the hands of you teachers of history; your ennobling influence upon the press of the future, and consequently upon the history which shall be born of the future, may become incalcuable if your teaching is aflame with the ideal that facts are sacred and that truth is holy." In the next number Dr. Jameson, of the Carnegie Foundation, has an article on the Typical Steps of American Expansion wherein he traces through the expansion of American territory his contention that "the processes we have been following were mainly the fruit, not of artificial intrigue and political conspiracy, but of natural economic and social development, on the part of men chiefly engaged in the great human occupation of making a quiet living." Perhaps the most important article in the March number is A Hidden Cause of the Mexican War, by Moses W. Ware. In this article he brings out the fact of the Northern holdings of Texan securities, which joined with Southern interest in slavery; and these two independent interests were "each equally potent in involving the United States in the war with Mexico." Another article, in the February number, it is hoped will be read by every history teacher in the state:

Edwin E. Slosson's A Stranger at School. It has been reprinted from *The Independent.* It must be read to be appreciated.

A series of articles have been appearing through several numbers dealing with the teaching of Greek History from several points of view of both subject matter and methods. The book reviews are of passing interest, while the recent historical publications are especially valuable. In the latter the announcements of the books of the month are classified according to American, Ancient, English, European, Medieval, Miscellaneous, Biography, Government and Politics.

The University of Texas is now publishing a "Texas History Teacher's Bulletin." The first number was issued November 15th, 1912; and four numbers have appeared so far. It is published quarterly by the History Department of the University and contains "brief, practical articles and suggestions, discussions of local problems, occasional reprints from The History Teachers' Magazine * * * and other educational journals, outlines, book lists and notes, and news of history teachers in Texas and elsewhere." The articles are of a very practical nature, dealing with the use of maps in the class work; Local History in various schools; use of note-books in high school work; parallel readings; efforts to improve history teaching; is questioning essential to good teaching; Historical Geography; sources; etc. It reprints for its readers the book publications of the History Teachers' Magazine.

The English "Historical Association," formed a few years ago, does not have as yet a regular publication. It publishes instead a series of leaflets on subjects of interest and value to the teachers. The following titles will give an indication of the nature: Source-books; some books on the teaching of History in Schools; the addresses of James Bryce on Teaching of History in Schools; Text-books; Supplementary Reading; the address of Thomas Hodgkin on the Teaching of History in Schools; The Teaching of Local History; Historical Maps and Atlases; Civics in the Schools; Recent British History; The Methods of Teaching History in Schools; Schools Historical Libraries. The publications of the Association may be secured through the History Teachers Magazine.

In January, 1913, the Germans began the publication of a History Teachers' Magazine called *Vergangenheit und Gegenwart.* It is edited by Fritz Friedrich and Dr. Paul Ruhlmann, and is published by the Teubner house in Leipzig. It is issued bi-monthly and costs 6 marks a yaer. The character of the general articles may be seen from the following titles of

some of the articles: The French Peasant before the Revolution; the new Munich history course of study; the history teaching in France; the colonization of North America; political training through the teaching of history; the burning of Rome and Nero's persecution of the christians; the eastern border of German culture; the newspaper in the upper schools; the evolution of types of war-ships from Trafalgar to the present; State and Church; the History of Civilization in the teaching of History in the upper classes; and in the last number, March, 1914, there was published the translation of the presidential address before the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association at Berkeley, November, 1912, given by Professor A. B. Show, of Stanford University, on The New Culture-History in Germany. It was published in full in the History Teachers' Magazine for October, 1913.

Of especial value are the book reviews; practically half of the pages of each number are given to this subject. In the last number, for instance, the running comments and criticisms on books and historical literature are arranged in the following manner: Pre-historic and Ancient Archaeology, under which are grouped the new books on Ethnology, Races, German Antiquities, etc.; Methodology and Didactics; History in the Pedagogical Press. Another issue, May, 1913, arranged the reviews in this manner: Renaissance and Reformation; History of Religion and the Church; Methodology and Historiography. The number of books reviewed in the March, 1914, number was 108. The number of books reviewed in the various numbers run from 49 to 154; the average being about 90 books.

In the first issue of the magazine there was published a call, signed by 34 gymnasium and university teachers of the Empire, to the German history teachers for the formation of a German History Teachers' Association. The call was answered by 53 teachers and on September 29th, 1913, at the University of Marburg the Association was organized. Dr. Neubauer, of Frankfort am Mein, was elected president; Professor Ernst Bernheim, of Greifswald, vice-president; and Mr. Behrendt, of Leipzig, secretary. The principal address was given by Professor Bernheim on The Preparation of the History Teacher which ended in a lengthy discussion. The next important address was on the Teaching of History in "Prima," and this also resulted in an animated discussion. The whole proceedings of the Marburg convention was published as a special number of the Vergangenheit und Gegenwart in October, 1913.

The Washington Historical Quarterly

Board of Editors

CLARENCE B. BAGLEY, Seattle.
J. N. BOWMAN, Seattle.
T. C. ELLIOTT, Walla Walla.
FRANK A. GOLDER, Pullman.
CEYLON S. KINGSTON, Cheney.
W. D. LYMAN, Walla Walla.
EDWARD MCMAHON, Seattle.
THOMAS W. PROSCH, Seattle.
OLIVER H. RICHARDSON, Seattle.
O. B. SPERLIN, Tacoma.
E. O. S. SCHOLEFIELD, Victoria, B. C.
ALLEN WEIR, Olympia.

Managing Editor
EDMOND S. MEANY

Business Manager
CHARLES W. SMITH

VOL. V NO. 3 JULY, 1914

ISSUED QUARTERLY

Contents

T. C. ELLIOTT . . . . . Journal of John Work, Sept. 7th-Dec. 14th, 1825 163
C. O. ERMATINGER . . . . . The Columbia River Under Hudson's Bay Company Rule 192
EDMOND S. MEANY . . . . . Three Diplomats Prominent in the Oregon Question 207
DOCUMENTS—A New Vancouver Journal 215
BOOK REVIEWS 225
NEWS DEPARTMENT 232
NORTHWESTERN HISTORY SYLLABUS 235
HISTORY TEACHERS' SECTION 238

THE WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY
STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY
UNIVERSITY STATION
SEATTLE, WASHINGTON

Entered at the postoffice at Seattle as second-class mail matter.

The Washington University State Historical Society

Officers and Board of Trustees:

CLARENCE B. BAGLEY, President

JUDGE JOHN P. HOYT, Vice-President

JUDGE ROGER S. GREENE, Treasurer

PROFESSOR EDMOND S. MEANY, Secretary

JUDGE CORNELIUS H. HANFORD

JUDGE THOMAS BURKE

SAMUEL HILL

SEATTLE
DEPARTMENT OF PRINTING, UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON
1914

Vol. V., No. 3 *July, 1914*

The Washington Historical Quarterly

JOURNAL OF JOHN WORK, SEPT. 7TH-DEC. 14TH, 1825

(Introduction and annotations by T. C. Elliott)

That part of this Journal covering the period from June 21st to Sept. 6th, including the introduction thereto, is already familiar to readers of Vol. V., No. 2 (April, 1914), of this Quarterly; a second installment is now given, and the third and last will appear in the October number. From September 7th to November 14th Mr. Work is in charge of Spokane House, the Hudson's Bay Company Trading Post located near the present city of Spokane, and his journal relates the day-to-day occurrences there, the arrival of the express from across the Rocky Mountains, the starting off of the clerk going to the Kootenay District for the winter, etc. On the 14th of November Mr. Work leaves Mr. Birnie at Spokane House and himself starts off for his winter station at Flathead Post or Fort on the Clark Fork of the Columbia. This journal enables us to identify positively the location of this Flathead Fort at this time, it being several miles further up the river than the original Saleesh House built on Thompson's Prairie or Plain by David Thompson in 1809. The parenthetical marks are used to designate words that are doubtful because indistinct in the original manuscript, of which this is a copy.

JOURNAL

(Continued from Page 115, Vol. V., No. 2.)

Wed.y. 7

Fine warm weather.

The three freemen got a small supply of articles to enable them to reach Mr. Ogden[60] and went off to join him.—I wrote to him by them.

[60]Peter Skene Ogden, then in charge of the Snake Country trapping expedition and on the headwaters of either the Snake or the Missouri rivers.

Sent a man & an Indian off to the Kettle Falls with a supply of tools and articles of Trade for Mr. Dears.[61]

Some of the men were employed clearing out the store and opening & arranging some of the furs.—

Thursday 8

Sharp cold weather in the mornings but warm in the middle of the day. The men employed about the store.—I am busy making out a (scheme) to take an inventory and get the papers arranged.—

Little doing in the way of Trade, a few fish and roots but no beaver worth mentioning—A horse was traded today.

Friday 9

Overcast weather.

The men were employed airing and beating the Snake furs.—

Mr. Birnie & Kittson & I taking an inventory of the goods &c in the store.—

Saturday 10

Thunder & heavy showers of rain.

The Store is in such bad order that the least rain pours in through the roof that scarcely anything can be kept dry except it is covered. Part of the Snake beaver were put out in the morning to air and be beat but the rain coming on they had to be taken in.

We are getting a few bad salmon in the barrier, but the most of them are so bad that they can scarcely be eaten.

Sunday 11

Clear fine weather.

Monday 12

Clear fine weather.

The men employed airing and beating the beaver.—Some Pendent Oreille Indians arrived and traded about 20 beaver.

Tuesday 13

Overcast lowering weather.

The men employed about the store.

Wed.y. 14

Clear fine weather.

The people employed about the store, the remainder of the furs were aired and beat, they are now all piled bye in excellent order.

[61] Thos. Dears, a clerk in charge of the building at the new trading post at Kettle Falls, Wash., to be known as Fort Colville.

Getting very little fresh provisions, the barrier is producing nothing even of the bad salmon.

Thursd.y. 15

Sent a man and an Indian off to the Kettle Falls with some provisions & other articles required for the Express. Mr. McLeod's family[62] accompanied them.—

The smith & one man employed making Axes. The other man cleaning up the store & about the Fort. A few Nezperces Indians with a large band of horses arrived from the plains, they had been collecting roots and came on a visit. No furs.

Friday 16

Thunder & heavy showers of Rain.

The smith making Axes, the other men differently employed about the Fort.

Satd.y. 17

Pleasant weather.

Had horses brought from the plains to set out to the Kettle fals tomorrow accompanied by Mr Kittson to send off the canoe with the Express to the Rocky Mountains & see how the people are getting on with the buildings.

After dark a man and an Indian arrived from Wallawalla in three days with letters from Fort Vancouver dated on the 5th inst. Some for Mr Ogden & some for the (mountain), with instructions to forward the former by a trusty person to meet Mr Ogden at the Flat Heads or carry them to him if it can be done with safety. I am also directed by Mr McLoughlin to stop the buildings at Kettle Falls till the arrival of the Express from across, because the site[63] pointed out for the Fort is on the South side of the River.—

I wrote to Mr Dease as I have to be off early in the morning, though the man will not get off for a day or two as his horses are fatigued.

Sunday 18

Foggy weather in the morning. Mr Kittson & I set out at ½ past 5 oclock from Spokane and arrived at the Kettle Falls at ½ past 6 in the evening which is good days ride. We had two horses each, we left the ones which we rode in the fore part of the day about half way, though they were not knocked up. We were only two hours from the South end

[62]The family of John McLeod en route to the Red River Dist. Consult Note No. 40, p. 102, of April Quarterly.

[63]Dr. McLoughlin visited this place the following summer and the Fort was built where Gov. Simpson had selected the site.

of the long plain[64] to the Kettle Falls. The men who left Spokane on the 15th arrived last night.—

Monday 19

Cloudy weather.

Set the Express men to work to gum the boat and sent them off[65] at 4 o'clock in the afternoon. The crew consists of 8 men. The boat is not deep laden but a good deal lumbered on account of the passengers, Mr McLeod's wife & 2 children, Mr Ross's wife and 4 children & St. Martin & 1 child. The men have provisions, corn, pease, dry meat & dry salmon for 36 days. The despatches are in Pierre L'Etang's charge.— Two of the Express men were sick one with venereal, two others had to be sent in their place.—

Since I have been here last very little progress has been made in the building. Not a stick of the house is up yet nor will the timber be in readiness for some time, I expected the frame at least would have been up. The causes assigned for this slow progress is principally the want of a proper hand to lay out the work for the men. L. La Bonta it appears is quite unfit for this duty, the whole of the posts (14) were squared too small & others of a proper size had to be taken out of the woods.— J. B. Proveau is now laying out the work & the business is going better on. The timber for the frame is now pretty well advanced in readiness to put together, but only about the 1/3 of the filling up pieces are squared. Sawing also has gone on very slowly, only about 93 boards & planks are yet cut—the saw at first was badly sharpened, & some time was lost putting it in proper order. Some of the men were also often sick, or pretended to be so, & unfit for work. Certainly there is little work done for the number of men & times they were employed.

7 men since the 10th or 12th August and

9 more men since the 1st inst.

Tuesday 20th

Raining in the forepart of the day.—

Set out at 11 oclock on our return to Spokane & encamped at 7 at the Big Camass plain.[66]

Left directions with Mr Dears to keep the men at work a few

[64]More recently known as Long Prairie, about 18 miles from the Fort.

[65]This Express boat ascended the Columbia River to Boat Encampment at the mouth of Canoe river and met there by appointment the H. B. Co. officer returning from York Factory after the annual summer council there. The horses that brought that Gentleman's party across the Athabasca pass returned with these passengers and dispatches, and the officer came back down the Columbia in the boat. Consult this text Oct. 31st Prox.

[66]A prairie still known by the same name; near Springdale, Stevens county.

days longer to have the timber for the store all in readiness to be put up in the spring if another situation does not be fixed upon. There is no other convenient spot near the fishing at the falls on which to build a fort. It will be necessary to call home the men to put the houses, etc., at Spokane in order to pass the winter.—Mr Dears is to be in readiness to proceed up the Pendent Oreville River when the men are called home.

Wed.y. 21

Foggy in the morning, fine weather afterwards.

Proceeded on our journey at 6 oclock and arrived at Spokane before 11. Mr. Kittson & I crossed the point from the (Buffau de Chaudin[67]), in 50 minutes.

Nothing material has occurred during our absence. By an Indian arrival lately from the Flat Heads it is reported that the Blackfeet have stolen the most of our peoples' horses which were in company with the F Head Indians. It seems the horses & some of the freemen who last left Mr Ogden were ahead of the Flat Head camp with some of the chiefs and that the women & people had stopped to gather berries while the horses went on a short distance ahead with (Revit)[68] & crossed a small River where the Blackfeet were lying in wait and drove them off. The F. Head chiefs, on the alarm being given, instantly pursued but could come up with only a few of the horses, and killed one of the thieves, and it is now reported that the F. Head chiefs are so exasperated that war is determined upon & that the Blackfeet will be attacked immediately. however this is only Indian reports

The young Indian who was sent off with the despatches to Mr Ogden on the 28th Augt. is supposed to have reached the Flat Head camp some time ago.—

Thursday 22nd

Clear fine weather.

Part of the men here employed covering the store with mats, the others getting firewood.

Fresh provisions are now very scarce scarcely a sufficiency of trout and a small kind of salmon can be procured for on our table, and very few of the bad salmon are got so that the people are mostly fed on dry provisions.

[67]Probably Walkers Prairie, where the Walker-Eells Mission was located in 1838.

[68]This would be Francois Rivet, an interpreter, who was given some authority by the traders. He afterward settled on French Prairie below Salem, Oregon.

Friday 23

Clear fine weather.

The people employed as yesterday, two covering the store with mats & two getting firewood.

Saturday 24

Clear fine weather.

Men employed as yesterday. Finished covering the store with mats.

Sunday 25

Weather as yesterday.

Part of the Nezperces Indians went off today. they have been here some time.

Monday 26

Fine weather.

Late last night Faneant one of Mr Ogden's men arrived from the Missouri with letters dated on the 11th inst—Mr. Ogden is now on his way with 20 men to Wallawalla by the Snake Country[69] and has sent orders here for the part of his outfit that is at this place, with about 50 horses, 20 saddles and appichimans, leather, cords, etc., to be forwarded to meet him at Wallawalla. he expects to reach that place about the 20th October. He also requests Mr Dears to be sent to meet him with the horses.—There will be only about 20 horses left, and the most of them unfit for any duty.—

Tuesday 27th

Clear fine pleasant weather.

Sent off an Indian to Wallawalla with Mr Ogden's disptaches, so that they may reach Mr Deane as soon as possible, that he may forward them to the sea if he deems it necessary & also have time to purchase horses for Mr Ogden.—An Indian with some horses was sent off to Kettle Falls with instructions for Mr Dears to get the potatoes put in a pit and well covered up so that the frost cannot injure them, that they may serve for seed next year. he is also to get the timber laid up in a proper manner, & come home as soon as possible with the men and all the tools.—We will have plenty of work for all the men here, preparing material for boats, & providing fuel for the winter and repairing the houses. These jobs require to be done before the Express arrives as the number of men allowed for this place will have plenty to do attending to the boat building and other necessary jobs during the winter. My object in having them at Kettle falls when I was last there was to save provisions & to have the

[69]That is, by the Snake river route through Boise, Payette, Weiser, Burnt river and the Grande Ronde in Eastern Oregon. He actually arrived at Fort Walla Walla on Nov. 9th.

material for them ready to set up. Mr Dears is directed to leave strict injunctions with the old chief to see that nothing that is left there be injured by the Inds. The tools are all to be brought home.

Wed.y. 28

Clear fine weather.

A few Indians coming & going, but very little doing in the way of trade. I am busy arranging the accounts, but the Inventory was so incorrectly taken in the spring and the goods disposed of in the beginning of the season so badly accounted for that, I cannot get any kind of a satisfactory account made out out.—

Thursday 29

Fine weather.

Had a man employed these two days past cutting (?) (?) into cords. An Ind. was employed, boiling gum.—Scarcely any fresh provisions. Nothing for the people, and but very little for our own table.

Friday 30th

Cloudy mild weather.

Visited the hay makers they will require a day or two yet to have a sufficiency made.

Octr. Satd.y. 1

Some rain in the night, cloudy mild weather afterwards.

Mr Dears and the men under his charge arrived from Kettle Falls with all their tools baggage etc. They were sent for in good time as they would have been obliged to come home or have had provisions sent to them as no more could be got there.—He took up the potatoes and put them bye in a little house that was built there by one of the men, the produce is only 13 kegs[70] from six that were sowed. they burried & (put) a good thickness of earth over them that the frost may not injure them so that they may serve for seed next year if the Indians do not steal them in the winter. The old chief is directed to take particular care of them. The timber &c is also left under his charge, and he promised to take good care of it as well as the potatoes.

It would require ten men, 8 or 10 days yet to have the store up and ready for covering the roof. The frames are now all ready for setting up and about the one half of the filling up pieces ready, of the covering planks 18 feet long are ready plank of ten feet for doors &c and boards of two feet for the gable ends are also ready.—There have been 7 men

[70]The first vegetables grown in Stevens county, Washington, by white men.

at work from the 10 or 12 of Augt. to the 30th. 16 & part of the time 17 from the 1st to 19th Sept, and 9 men from the 19th of Sept to the 28th were employed doing this work.—had there been an experienced hand to lay out the work for the men much more would have been done.—

We will have full employment for all the men now till the Express arrives preparing material for boats, making cor(r)als, getting firewood, and putting the houses in order for the winter, these works will require to be done now, as there will not be enough of people here to attend to them in winter.—

Sunday 2nd.

Heavy rain in the night & forepart of the day.—

The Indian who was sent to Kettle Falls with the horses did not return till today One of his horses which he had to leave by the way was stolen by an Indian & taken to the Chutes, he said he had taken him in revenge for a quarrel he had with one of the women of the fort from whom he got a bloody face, this happened only a few days ago.

Monday 3

Fair mild weather.

Had four of the men off seeking timber to saw for boats, they felled nine trees none of which would serve, they are a good distance up along the River seeking it.[71] Wood of the dimensions required, 40 feet long & 14 inches square, is difficult to find.

The most of the others were employed getting firewood, they tried to raft in the morning but the wood is so far from the water side and the river so shallow that they could make nothing of it & had to commence cutting cord wood which will have to be carted[72] home by horses.

Tuesday 4

Fine pleasant weather.

The men employed as yesterday, those in search of the boat timber found three trees suitable for the purpose & have made some progress in squaring them.

Wed.y. 5th.

Clear fine weather.

Two more men were sent to assist the squarers. The others were employed taking up the potatoes, the crop is but very indifferent only about 28 kgs from 5 that were sowed, they had begun to grow again & some of them were budded several inches.

[71]Good cedar timber suitable for boats is said to have grown above the mouth of Deep creek four or five miles above the Fort.

[72]The flat where Spokane House was built was a small prairie with some scattering timber in spots. Gov. Stevens found it so in 1853; see Part 1, Vol. 12 of Pac. Ry. Reports.

Prepared & tied up sundry articles to be sent off tomorrow to Nezperces for the Snake expedition, the horses were brought home in the evening to be ready.—

Thursday 6

Sharp frost in the morning.—

The Indian Charlie who is to accompany the people to Nezperces did not arrive as he had promised and one of the men's horses being lost, deferred sending the party off till tomorrow.

The men were sent off to assist in getting home the timber, they got it in and down part of the way. The River is very shallow & it is difficult getting it down the rapids.

Friday 7

Weather as yesterday.

Sent off the party to Nezperces at 8 oclock, it consists of Messrs. Kittson, Dears, their wives[73], six men & 2 Indians, with 50 horses 18 of which were loaded, the loads are not heavy. Mr Kittson, 4 of the men and 1 Indian are to return, some of the horses are to be brought back if they can be spared. Mr Dears & the other two men who belong to the Snake expedition are to remain.—The party are well armed and I think sufficiently strong to pass through the Indians with safety.

The men at the Fort got home the timber and were afterwards employed getting wood for a sawpit.

Trade has been improving a little for some time past, a few beaver are coming in daily.—No fresh provisions, this will likely be a starving winter with the Indians, they are getting no bad salmon, formerly at this season they used to be abundant.

By the old Kettle Falls chief I sent a note to be handed to the Gentlemen coming in with the Express.—It was intended that some one would, in compliance with the Governors orders, would have gone up the Pedent Oreille River to examine it. Mr Dears was to have gone, but his having to go to Nezperces prevented it. Mr Kittson in consequence of a hurt in the foot received by a fall last winter of which he is not yet thoroughly recovered & which prevents him from undertaking any journey on foot of any extent he was incapable of going, moreover it was considered necessary that for the more safe conveyance of the property to WallaWalla & the safe return of the people who have to come back, that he should (mak) (an effort to?) accompany the party. Mr. Birnie declared himself totally incapable of embarking in a small Indian canoe & could not undertake the

[73] Mr. Kittson's first wife was from the Walla Walla tribe: their son Peter William, born at Fort Walla Walla in 1830, is still living (1914) about 25 miles from Portland, Oregon.

trip but in a large canoe with at least four men, from the press of business at present, & a great deal of work being absolutely necessary to be done before winter commences it is impossible to spare the men, the examining the River must, therefore be deferred until next season. I am sorry it is out of our power to execute the Govrs instructions[74], though as we are at present situated, not having been able to remove the Fort, the trade can sustain no injury by the river not being examined this season, for even were the River navigable, the old rout would be preferable.

Satd.y. 8

Cloudy cold weather.

Some of the men employed finished the sawpit & getting everything in readiness to commence sawing on Monday.—The others cutting firewood.

Sunday 9

Weather as yesterday, some rain in the night.—

Monday 10

Cloudy cold weather, showers of rain & hail, rain in the night.

Men employed as follows.—Two sawing wood for boats, 2 seeking stem and stern posts, and six cutting wood for coals. The sawyers got on pretty well. The wood for stem & stern posts was also found.

Tuesday 11

Cold showery weather.

Sent off 4 men with 6 horses to seek cedar for boat timber. 4 were employed cutting wood for coals & 2 sawing.

Wed.y. 12

Heavy rain the greater part of the day.

Men employed as yesterday, but on account of the bad weather, both the wood cutters and sawyers were stopped a considerable time.—A sufficiency of wood is cut for the coals, but they have yet to build it into a pit or furnace.

Thursday 13

Heavy rain the greater part of the day. The rain kept the people idle a considerable part of the day. With this unfavourable weather the work is getting on very slowly.

[74]See Gov. Simpson's instructions in entry of July 21st ante. The Pend d'Oreille river between Metaline Falls and its mouth is not navigable to this day and this route was never adopted.

Friday 14th

Cloudy fair weather.

The woodmen finished arranging the wood for the coals, they are now ready to set fire to. Those who went off on tuesday returned with the wood for boat timber sufficient for 4 boats they would have been back sooner had it not been for the bad weather. The sawyers got on pretty well, but unfortunately one of the logs which we had so much trouble getting, turns out to be rotten in the heart, it was sound at both ends. It will not answer the purpose & finding trees of a proper size & getting them home is attended with a good deal of difficulty.

Satd.y. 15

Cloudy fair weather.

Four men employed squaring a piece of timber 40 feet long, 12 inches wide and 6 thick to make up for the boards that are deficient in the one that was rotten. Two others of the men brought home some white earth to whitewash the houses. The sawyers made about 120 feet today.

Sunday 16

Wather as yesterday.

Monday 17

Cloudy fair weather

The men brought home the log which was squared on Saturday.—Afterwards 6 were employed cutting firewood, 2 cutting wheels for a truck, to cart home wood & 2 sawing. It requires all hands to be employed at firewood as none was cut in summer it being supposed that the fort was going to be removed.

Tuesday 18

Cloudy pleasant weather, frost in the night & foggy in the morning.—

Men employed as yesterday. The sawyers made about 110 feet. The Indians had taken away the canoe so that the men could not get home the wheels after they were cut.

Old Philip occasionally catches a few little fish with the scoop net which with a choice trout got from the Indians serves on our table but the people are fed entirely on dry provisions.

Wed.y. 19

Cloudy weather.

Men employed as yesterday. Mr Kittson and his party arrived from WallaWalla[75] in 5 days. All the property &c reached that place safe.

[75]That is: from Fort Nez Perces or Walla Walla.

He has letters from Dr McLaughlin and Mr Dease, the former had just arrived at WallaWalla and intimates that he will probably visit[76] this place to meet the Express.—Mr Kittson brought five horses & four men back with him. two of the men which were sent (Cender) and (Laduoite), were exchanged for Wagner and Pierre, the former is sent here by way of punishment for disobedience of orders.—Mr. Kittson had six horses with him but he had to leave one of them by the way, which the Indians promised to take back. So that 5 will have to be deducted from the number sent

Thursday 20

Fine weather.

The four men who arrived yesterday employed packing up saddles, appichimans, cords &c for N. Caledonia & Thompson's River, which are to be sent to the Forks to be forwarded to Okanogan by the Express boat. Our men employed white washing the Fort, the others employed sawing & cutting wood as yesterday.

Friday 21

Weather as yesterday.

Men employed as yesterday. Finished packing the saddles appichimans &c—and sent a man & an Indian off to the Plains[77] for the horses to send off to the Forks tomorrow.

One of the (?) Soteaux who has been here some time set off in the evening to the Flat Heads with several of the Spokane Indians. he got a small supply of ammunition and other necessary articles. Mr. Ogden requested this man to be sent to him to Wallawalla but we could not get him prevailed on to go, he is an Indian and it is useless to withhold these supplies as he would have gone off without them & in sulks & probably hunted more during winter. We endeavored to detain him till the arrival of the Express but he would not stop.—

Saturday 22

Cloudy fine weather.

Part of the men employed cleaning about the Fort, the others as before.

Sent off J. B. Proveau, Louis (Shaegockatsta) and two Indians (one of them the chief of this place,) to the Forks with 16 horses loaded with the appichimans saddles &c for New Caledonia & Thompsons River. The people are to remain at the Forks till the Express arrives.

[76]From other sources we know that Dr. McLoughlin did not get further inland than Fort Walla Walla that season.

[77]Spokane or Coeur d'Alene prairie.

Sunday 23

Clear pleasant weather.

Some Nezperces Indians are now driving towards the Fort.

Monday 24

Pleasant weather.

Two men employed sawing, 2 beating & changing the furs to another place, 5 cutting wood, 1 making wheels & arranging a carriage for wood, 2 sundry jobs.—The sawyers finished the wood for 3 boats, in all 73 boards 6 Inches wide and 40 feet long & 3 broad pieces for keels 40 feet long & 14 Inches wide, and 6 pieces for gunwales 40 feet long & 2 Inches wide in 15 days, they worked well, they were retarded a good deal by bad weather when they commenced.

Sunday 25

Clear pleasant weather.

The sawyers squaring two trees for plank to make a stern box for the boat timber. 1 man carting home wood, the other employed as yesterday.

Wedy 26

Frosty in the morning fine weather afterwards.

Two of the men employed covering the dwelling house with mats, the sawyers squared a log for boards to make a stearing box, the others cutting cord wood.

Thursday 27

Weather as yesterday.

The sawyers sawing, the others employd as yesterday—The horse keeper came home & reported that three of his horses have strayed.—

Friday 28

Weather as yesterday

The men employed as yesterday.

Old Philip & another man finished covering the dwelling house with mats,—and afterwards commenced burning a pit of coals.

Saturday 29th

Overcast mild weather.

Men employed as before The sawyers brought home another log for a few more boards.—

Sunday 30

Clear mild weather.

Employed all day taking an Inventory of the goods in the store.

Monday 31

Mild pleasant weather. At midnight last night, A. R. McLeod[78] Esq. C. T. & Mr. F. Ermatinger arrived from the Forks with the Express. Mr. Black & Mr. E. Ermatinger remained at the Forks.—Towards evening Mr. McLeod with three men and an Indian on horseback set out for Nezperces to meet Mr McLaughlin with the despatches. Three men were also sent off with provisions for the people at the Forks and to bring up some property that has been brought back from the Rocky mountains.

One of the passengers St. Martin who was going out, was drowned crossing a small creek near the mountains. By Mr. McLeod I wrote to Mr McLaughlin and to Mr Dease, apprising them that it will be incumbent on Mr Dease who is to come & take charge of this District, to make all the Expedition in his power that the Flat Head people may get off in sufficient time not to be stopped by the ice.

Tuesday 1st (November)

Overcast mild weather.

Messrs. Kittson[79] and Ermatinger left for the Forks the former to return with the horses and property, the latter to accompany the boats to Okanagan.

The men remaining at the Fort were employed cutting & carting home wood. Mr Birnie & I finished taking the invtry.

Wed.y. 2

Overcast cold weather.

The men employed as yesterday. Two attending the coal pit that is burning. (charcoal) 3 cutting wood and 1 carting.

Thursday 3

Overcast cold weather, some snow in the night and the morning.

Mr. Kittson arrived from the Forks, he left the men behind they will not arrive till tomorrow.—The Express gentlemen also left the Forks yesterday. From some misunderstanding between Mr. McLeod & Mr.

[78] A. R. McLeod, a chief trader who remained on the Columbia several years and commanded expedition against the Clallam Indians in 1828, for which he was criticised and perhaps censured.; Mr. Samuel Black (who was afterwards murdered at Kamloops) was on the way to take charge of Frot Walla Walla to relieve Mr. Dease there; Francis Ermatinger remained in the Columbia District for twenty years, but the brother, Mr. Edward Ermatinger, retired to St. Thomas, Ontario, in 1828. Consult "Journal of Edward Ermatinger," published by Royal Society of Canada, Ottawa, 1912. This "Express" brought mail from Hudson's Bay and all Eastern points. The Forks means the mouth of the Spokane river.

[79] William Kittson and Francis Ermatinger, clerks of the Hudson's Bay Company, the latter on his way to take charge of Fort Okanagan for the winter; Mr. Work and James Birnie, also a clerk, remain in charge at Spokane House. Mr. Birnie passed his last days at Cathlamet on the lower Columbia; his descendants reside there.

Black respecting a man P. Wagner who was exchanged for one of the Spokane men at Wallawalla by way of punishment for disobedience of orders, & was to be taken to Okanagan taken in his place, and the Spokane man's place supplied by one of the new hands coming in, instead of which Wagner is taken on & no one left in his place. altho' Mr Kittson explained how it stood yet he said he had no orders, tho' mr. McLeod mentioned the circumstance to him in his letter. We will be a man short unless one is sent from Wallawalla.

Friday 4

Stormy cold weather, snowing.

The men arrived with the property from the Forks. they were so benumbed with cold that they could scarcely untie the loads.—the outside of some of the Bales were wet with soft rain & snow.

Satd.y. 5th

Snowing & raw cold weather, winter like weather.

Dilivered the Kootany outfit to Mr Kittson.—

The men that arrived yesterday not employed. The carter had to stop work, the snow clogged so to the wheels that he could not work.

Sunday 6th

Stormy, cold, snowing weather.

There is a good thickness of snow on the ground.—

Monday 7

Disagreeable weather soft snow and sleet.

The horses were brought home from the plains[80] & all the Kootany outfit prepared to be sent off tomorrow.

The Coer de Alan chief brought home three of our horses which have been missing some time. One of them was thought had been stolen.—two or three more have been missing some days.—

Tuesday 8

Some showers of rain and sleet & overcast foggy weather.

Mr. Kittson sent off his people, five men with nine horses and the Kootany outfit on horses to the Forks where they are to embark in a canoe or small boat and proceed up the Columbia to the entrance of McGillivrays Kootany[81] River, up which they are to continue to a place called

[80]The prairie pasture between the Spokane Falls and the Coeur d'Alene lake.

[81]The Kootenay river was originally named McGillivray's river, by David Thompson.

the falls[82] about half a days march below the Old Fort, where they are to build. This road is taken in obedience to orders received from Governor Simpson.[83] By this route a considerable deal of horse carriage will be avoided, and the Fort being situated farther down the river will be the means of keeping the Indians in a part of the country, where beaver are more numerous than where they usually hunt near the Flat Head lands. Another advantage attending this track is that if necessary they will be able to put out much earlier in the spring. The only objection to this road is running the risk of being taken by the ice on account of the lateness of the season, as the River is not known but very imperfectly except from Indian reports, but as they will not be deep laden being only 14 or 16 pieces including baggage & provisions and as there are five men (an additional one being sent on account of the road not being known, & buildings to be erected) it is expected they will still arrive before the ice sets in calculating by the other road the distance cannot be very long.

Wed.y. 9

Foggy soft mild weather.

One man employed repairing & making horse harness, one filling up a pit in the boat house,[84] and one working about the store, two men are still attending the coal pit, which is not yet burnt out.

Put aside the greater part of the Outfit for the Flat Heads.

Thursday 10

Weather as yesterday—The snow has not all disappeared off the hills & very hollow places yet—

One man employed cutting wood, the other as yesterday—

Mr Kittson started for the Forks after his men, where he expects to arrive this evening, and embark tomorrow, the men will probably arrive a little before him and be employed gumming the boats.—Mr Kittson is not certain until he arrives at the Forks, whether he will take a canoe or a small boat, the men proposed taking the boat as it would be able to sustain much more injury than the canoe, and they thought they would be able to carry it, when it was necessary to carry it. I recommended Mr Kittson to be certain before he left the Forks whether they will be able to carry it.

[82]Kootenay Falls near Troy, Lincoln County, Montana; the "Old Fort" referred to stood opposite Jennings, Montana, about 25 miles further up the river. For mention of that Fort consult Ross Cox.

[83]See letter from Gov. Simpson in Part I of this Journal (p. 98 of this Quarterly for April 1914).

[84]That is, the house for building cedar batteaux, which were to be run down to the Columbia river at high water in the spring.

Friday 11

Excessive heavy rain in the night, overcast mild weather during the day.

Two men cutting wood & 1 carting it home to fill up the sides of the house where the boats are to be built. Philip came home from his coal pit having finished it. he and another man have been employed at this job 15 days. Late last night an Indn. arrivd from Okanagan for a horse that was promised Mr Ermatinger, with which we sent off the Indn. this morning.

Satd.y. 12

Mild pleasant weather during the day. Sharp frost in the night.

Three men employed at wood for the boat house as yesterday—Philip doing little jobs in the forge, & Canotte tieing up the pieces of the Flat Head outfit.

An Indian arrived from the Forks with the horses that took down the Kootany outfit and brought a letter from Mr Kittson in which he informs us that the men were perfectly able to carry the boat and that he was going to take it, & expected to get on well—he would be off about noon yesterday.

In the evening the men who accompanied Mr McLeod arrived from WallaWalla, and brought letters from Mr Dease[85] informing us that in consequence of Mr Ogden not having yet arrived he was prevented from setting out for this place but directing me to to lose no time in setting out for the F. Heads and to leave Mr Birnie in charge of this place.—And also with directions to leave him any notes that may be useful to him.—

The horses from both places are much fatigued. Sent them off late in the evening to the plains.—

Sunday 13

Overcast mild weather.

Busy employed getting everything ready to set out to the Flat Heads[86] tomorrow. The horses were brought home in the evening they are so very lean & weak that we will scarcely get 12 the number required to carry the outfit and baggage across the portage able to go.

I have all the papers &c in readiness to give Mr Dease all the information I can on his arrival, and requested Mr Birnie who is well ac-

[85]Mr. J. W. Dease, who had been in charge of Fort Walla Walla, but was being transferred to Spokane House, but is delayed waiting for Peter Skene Ogden's arrival from the Snake Country of Southern Idaho.

[86]Mr. Work is assigned to spend the winter at the trading post among the Flathead Indians in Montana. The "portage" refers to the 75 miles over which they must carry the trading goods on pack animals between Spokane House and the Pend d'Oreille river.

quainted with the place and the routine of the business to explain everything to him.

We will be compelled to take 8 men up as fewer would not be able to work the canoes, this will leave only 2 men here, but as many as possible must be sent down from the F. Heads as soon as we arrived.

Monday 14

Foggy soft weather.

Set out with the people before noon for the Flat Heads, and encamped at the Horse Plains,[87] which is but a short journey but, as the horses are very lean & did not feed last night they require to feed.

The Horses that remain except the 2 (carters) and 6 that are missing were put under charge of the Senchos chief who is to keep them during the winter.

Tuesday 15

Proceeded on our journey at 8 oclock and encamped at the little River[88] at the farthest end of the Coer de Alan plain at 3, the horses much fatigued.

Found four of our horses that were missing in the plain & 1 where we slept last night, the other is in the plains at the Chutes,[89] which is the whole that was missing.

(Le Course's) horse strayed in the night, he was searching for him all day without success, it was dark when he arrived at the camp.

Two of the men Paul and Felix were about all night. Paul was on a marrying excursion and had bargained with an Indian ~~for his sister~~ and paid him the articles stipulated for, but on coming a little further on passing the lodge of the girl's mother, who it seems had received nothing, she objected to the girl going and Paul much disappointed had to come away and leave her & the property too.

Wed.y. 16

Soft mild weather, heavy fog like drizzling rain.

Continued on journey before 8 oclock and encamped at 3 at the rat Lake[90] though but a short journey the horses much fatigued.—

In the evening Conoth one of the men killed 2 geese.—(Charlo) the Iroquoy was off seeking Deer but without success.

87About where Hilyard now is, near city of Spokane.
88Rathdrum creek, probably.
89That is, at the Spokane Falls.
90Now called Hoodoo Lake, in Bonner County, Idaho. The Spokane-International Rv. passes by it.

Thursd.y. 17

Sharp frost in the night fine clear weather all day.

Resumed our journey before 8 oclock and reached the end of the Portage[91] after 10 when the canoes were immediately got out of the woods and the men distributed into crews and busily employed repairing the canoes arranging paddles poles &c The saddles appichimans &c were tied up ready to send off with an Indian who came to take home the horses.

I had intended to take four canoes as they would be all required to bring down the fall trade & for the spring, but on account of the lateness of the season and the length of time it would take going up with two men per canoe, I am induced to alter my plans & take only three, we will then have 3 men per canoe including an Indian who is going up.

A woman who is going this road to join one of the Cootenay men ( ), very shortly after arriving at the camp brought forth a child, and seemed attending to her little affairs during the day afterwards as if nothing had happened.

Friday 18

Some sleet and rain in the morning. foggy soft weather afterwards.

Everything being ready & the canoes loaded, we embarked before 8 oclock, and made a good days work, as we encamped at the old Fort[92] at the upper end of the Lake, it was past 4 oclock when we encamped, fortunately it was calm when we crossed the lake, we were retarded a little at the sandy point[93] by the shallowness of the water.

I had first intended to take four canoes with two men in each, but considering that it would take a long time to get up so weakly manned at this late season, I altered my plan & took only three, we have now three men in each and an Indian that it going up with us making the 9th man.

Passed some Indians only one of whom we spoke to him we induced to tell all he knew, that Mr. Kittson had taken another rout that the Kootenies would find him below the Chutes[94] at the place appointed.

Before we embarked in the morning sent off the Indians who came from the Fort for the purpose, with the horses saddles, appichimans, cords, in all 20 horses including the Company's 13. Messrs. McDonald[95] Kitt-

91That is at Sina-acateen crossing of the Pend d'Oreille river, nearly opposite Laclede station of the Great Northern Ry.

92Meaning the Kullyspell House or trading post established in Sept., 1809, by David Thompson, but long since abandoned; it stood not far from Hope, Idaho.

93Sand Point of the present day, very early and properly so named.

94Kootenay Falls of the oKotenay river.

95Meaning Mr. Finan McDonald, who had resided among the Spokane Indians for years, but who was absent now on exploring expedition into southern Oregon.

son & myself 3 Men 4 & Indian 3, besides he is to take 5 by the way, 4 from the Coeur de Alan plains & 1 from our first encampment, these are the horses that were strayed, three are now missing now.

Satd.y. 19

Soft foggy weather cold in the morning.

Embarked a little past six oclock & encamped a little past 3 above the (Lower) Rapid[96], to get the canoes gummed as they had become very leaky.—This is a pretty good days work at this late season.

Sunday 20

Blowing fresh in the night some rain. Mild foggy weather during the day.

It was near 7 oclock when we embarked owing to the bad road we had to pass—it required to be broad daylight—We were detained two hours gumming Chala's canoe, which retarded us considerably, yet we got over the Stony Island portage & encamped near 4 oclock at its upper end where all the canoes were gummed.

Monday 21,

Soft weather but raw and cold.

Embarked past 6 oclock, and were detained an hour gumming Charla's canoe again, and again encamped a little below the barrier River[97] a little past 2 oclock to get the canoes thoroughly gummed, it was night by the time this business was completed.—Saw 2 deer but could not approach them.

Tuesday 22

Raw cold foggy weather.

Embarked a little past 6 oclock and encamped before 4, (in order to join the canoes), a little below the Chutes. Notwithstanding that the canoes were gummed yesterday evening an hour was lost gumming Chala's one shortly after we started. had it not been for these delays we would have been past the Chutes.

Wed.y. 23

Foggy in the morning, cloudy pleasant weather afterwards. This is the only day the sun shone occasionally since we left Spokane.

Continued our route at 6 oclock reached the Chutes[98] at, had canoes and all carried across & the canoes gummed & reembarked at 12 and en-

96Probably Cabinet rapids of the Clark Fork river.
97Probably Trout creek, of today.
98Meaning Thompson Falls, Montana.

camped at the upper end of Thompsons[99] near 4.—We took up some goods a barrel of powder, 2 traps and two bags of ball and shot mixed that were burried at a rapid a little above the Chutes. Though these things were burried in a dry place the bags that contained the ball were completely rotten, and the hoops on the keg so rotten that it hardly held together till the powder was got emptied into a bag. Property hidden this way ought to have wood all round it on every side so that the earth could not touch it, otherwise it will in a very short time be rotten and spoiled.

Some Indians and a freeman visited us shortly after we encamped. from the former we got 4 small trout and a bale of meat which was very acceptable to the men as they have had nothing but dry salmon since they left the Fort. By these people we learn that the Flat Heads are not yet arrived, but that the Pendent Orielles are a little above the Fort. The two men whom Mr Ogden[100] sent with the F Heads to take up the beaver which he hid found them all safe and are on their way in with them.

Gave the Indians a little Tobacco.

Thursday 24

Sharp frost in the forepart of the night rain afterwards,—foggy in the morning cloudy in the afternoon.—

Embarked at a little past 6 oclock and arrived at the Fort[101] at 11. The houses are all standing but without doors or windows & all the floors torn up by the Indians scouting for anything that might be under them. Some of the pieces were burried & marks of where a fire had been made in the dwelling house that had the wood been dry would have destroyed all the buildings.—Some of the doors could not be found & several empty kegs which had been left here were brok to pieces. The men were employed the afterpart of the day fixing doors to the store and laying the floors. The store was got temporarily closed and the goods stowed in it.

Two Indians who were here went off to the Pendant Oreille camp with whom a piece of Tobacco was sent to the three principal men.—And notice sent them that we would be ready to trade tomorrow or next day when they chose to come.—

Friday 25

Snow in the night & morning the most of which had thawed & disappeared on the low grounds towards evening.

[99]Thompson's Prairie or Plain, where David Thompson established his Saleesh House in Oct., 1809. The H. B. Co. removed the trading post further up the river. This camp was close to the mouth of Thompson river.

[100]Peter Skene Ogden. Consult Oregon Hist. Quarterly, Vol. 10, pp. 229-78.

[101]Flathead Fort or House, then located at or near the present R. R. station of Eddy, in Sanders county, Montana, on main line of No. Pac. Ry.

The men employed arranging their axes and afterwards squaring planks for doors &—.

An Indian one of the Pendant Oreille chiefs arrived to enquire when we would be ready to trade, though word had been sent to them yesterday that we were ready when they chose to come. Gave him a little tobacco when he set off & a few balls and Powder to send some of his young men to get some fresh meat.

A young man also came with a present of 4 fresh buffalo tongues.

Saturday 26

Disagreeable weather with snow and sleet the forepart of the day but fair in the afternoon.

Had the men employed making doors and putting the houses in order.

The Indians began to arrive about noon and a brisk trade was immediately commenced and continued on till it was getting dark. I am unable to ascertain exactly the amount of the days trade, but there are upwards of 340 beaver skins and nearly 40 bales of meat. There was a great demand for guns and Tobacco.—The Indians as is the case still when a stranger arrives among them, complain about being harder dealt with than heretofore, however they seemed well pleased notwithstanding that (not?) a single item of their (prices) demanded would be abated.

Sunday 27

Sharp frost in the night. Mild pleasant weather during the day.

The Indians arrived in the morning & trade was resumed and continued on nearly all day, but not so brisk as yesterday. The Indians say their trade is nearly finished.—Some parchment skins were traded to make windows for the houses and some mats to cover them of which they are in want as the wet drips through the roofs.

A present of 16 inches of Tobacco to each of the 3 F. H. chiefs was given to an Indian to carry to them and to apprise them of our arrival.

The Indians with whom we have been trading these two days are principally Pendent Oreilles or Collespellums, with a few Flat Heads, or Asschesh,[102], and some Spokans.—

Monday 28

Thin frost in the night, fine mild weather during the day.

Two men employed assorting & examining the meat, the others finishing the doors putting in windows, & covering the house with mats.—

[102]The best Mr. Work could make of the Indian family name Saleesh or Salish.

A few straggling Indians traded a little meat and a few Beaver Skins and appichimans. The Indians are all encamped at some distance[103] from the Fort, there is only one lodge here.—

Tuesdy 29

Frost in the night. Pleasant mild weather during the day.

The men differently employed as yesterday. The meat is not all yet assorted.

La (Broch), one of the principal F. Head chiefs arrived with 8 or 9 men who traded 16 bales meat & 13 Beaver skins, & a few appichimans.

A Kootany Indian arrived in the morning from the camp of a small party of that tribe that is at a short distance and told us that they intended to visit us and trade what furs they had in a few days. I did not wish that these Indians would come here at all as a Fort is on their own lands expressly for them, but as it is likely it would be well on in the season before they might see Mr. Kittson & that perhaps they would not exert themselves hunting while they have furs on hand I thought it most advisable not to prevent them from coming in and that after trading they would hunt briskly on their way to Mr Kittsons Fort & that although more furs would be obtained for the Company I understand there is only a few lodges of them here which separated from the Pendent Oreilles & Flat Heads a short time ago.

The carcasses of 3 Deer and 2 Beaver were traded from the Indians.

Wedy. 30th

Sharp frost, clear pleasant weather.

The men differently employed

A few Indians visited the Fort and traded a little meat & a few beaver and appichimans.—I sumed up the trade since our arrival on the 24th Inst, and find it to amount to 310 large & 202 small beaver, 11 otters, 76 Rats, 4 fishes, 1 mink, 1 Robe, 6 dressed deer skins, 17 pacht. do. 4 dressed Elk skins, 11 saddles, 111 fathoms cord, 97 appichimans, 69 bales, 4094 lbs. net wt. dry meat, 170 fresh Tongues, 103 dry do. 342 lbs. 5¼ (dry) fresh venison, 4 Bushels Roots, 50 (?), 14 Horns buffalo, 4 Hair Bridles and 2 dogs.

The Expenditure for the above trade including presents of Tobacco & am. to the chiefs, smoaking &c is as follows 4 doz. Indn. awls, 6 half & 4 small axes, 1 2/3 doz. (hawk balls), 2¼ lb. N. W. 5 lb. canton, and 2½ yds. green Transparent Beads, 115 lbs. Ball, 1 (Eyed

[103]Probably about 8 miles away on the Horse Plains, or Plains, Montana, where was usual Indian camping ground.

Dog), 2 Files 7 Inch. 14 guns, 78 flints, 3½ doz. gun (?), 11 Looking Glasses, 37 lbs. gun Powder, 11 Kirby hooks, 18¼ lbs. brass & copper kettles, 4 1/6 doz. scalpers & 11/12 doz. Folding Knives, 3½ yds Red Strands, 3 pr. (?), 2 lbs. Beav. shot 3½ doz. Thimbles, 72 lb. Tobacco, 3 Beaver Traps and ½ lb. Vermillion—The awls, Flints and gun (worms) were generally given for nothing and also some of the Tobacco. The bales of dry meat cost on an average 3½ (Pluis) and was paid for principally with ammunition, a little Tobacco & some knives. The bales as bought from the Indians average about 60 lbs. net each. Of the above 4094 lbs. meat, there are 2314 lb. Lean, 1340 Back fat, and 440 Inside fat.

Decr. Thursday 1st.

Overcast frosty weather.

The men employed splitting planks cutting firewood, &c.

An old Flat Head chief Le Buche, the only one yet arrived visited the Fort with 8 or 9 attendants, who traded in the course of the evening 13 bales of meat and a few beaver skins.—The old chief has taken up his quarters with me and says he intends to stay three nights. He has a good deal of influence with the Indians.

Friday 2

Weather as yesterday. Snow in the night.

A few Indians still visiting the house but little to Trade. 1½ Deer were purchased.

Saturday 3

Overcast milder weather than these days past. Some snow in the night.

The men splitting planks.

A Kooteany Indian arrived yesterday evening and went off only this morning With him I sent a letter to Mr Kittson which I supposed might be nearly at his fort by this time, but as I had learned from Soteaux a freeman that the road was very difficult & that probably he would have to return I sent word to the Indians that in case of their not hearing of his arrival, to come in here and trade their furs immediately, but if heard of his arrival to go to their own Fort & by no means come here. The sooner the furs can be got out of the Indians hands the better, as they will then exert themselves to collect more.

Mr Kittson and his people arrived in the evening in a canoe with their supplies for the Kootenais. It seems that on entering the Kootany River after mounting the Columbia they found the Navigation so diffi-

cult that it was deemed impracticable to reach their destination with the craft they had (a small boat) or indeed with any craft except one that two men could carry. Mr Kittson therefore determined to return to Spokan and make his way by the old rout[104] across Au Platte Portage, but reaching Spokan the Company's horses were so lean that a sufficient number (only 8 or 9) were totally incapable of undertaking the journey and would not have been able to perform it. He, therefore proceeded on to this place with the canoe that I left at the Coeur d Alan portage, and sent a man across land to the Kootenais to apprise them of his failure in attempting to get to their country and to make the best of their way to this place to Trade.

Not succeeding in getting to the Kootany country in time will be attended with some loss in beaver as a part of the fall hunt will be lost, however as things are now situated there is no means of remedying it, the supplies cannot be sent to meet them and detain them in their own country for want of horses, which cannot be procured here.

The Governor was certainly misinformed regarding the navigation when he ordered the Kootany supplies to be sent by water.

Sunday 4

Foggy mild weather, but still freezing.

Eight young men from the Kootany camp arrived and traded 15 small beaver skins for Tobacco with which they set off in the evening to regain the camps. A little Tobacco was sent to the chiefs.—The young men report that seeing no whites arrive, the chiefs had raised camp to come here[105] & trade, and that the man whom Mr Kittson sent came up with them & is now with the Chief.—The camp is not far off but it will be some time before they reach this as they make but short days marches. They have plenty of beaver.

Monday 5th

Some snow in the morning. Overcast mild weather afterwards.

The Old Chief La Buche paid us another visit. A few other Indians visited the Fort but had little to trade.

The man whom Mr Kittson sent round by the Kootanies arrived in the afternoon accompanied by an Indian. He was very well treated by the Indians. The whole tribe are on their way here and at no great dis-

104The portage across from Pend d'Oreille lake north to Bonners Ferry on the oKotenay river, known as the flat portage because of there being no high mountain range to cross, and the Kootenay Indians on that part of the river being designated by the same name.

105These Indians crossed by the "Kootenae Road," shown on David Thompson's famous 'map (See Henry-Thompson Journals) from near Jennings, Montana, south across the Cabinet Mountains to Thompson's Prairie, or to the Horse Plains.

tance, but it will still be some days before they arrive as they make but slow marching.

The men employed packing up what beaver and appichimans we have already traded, for the purpose of sending off two canoes. The furs, appichimans, saddles &c will not more than load 1 canoe the other we will have to load with provisions though by so doing we subject our silves to the chance of being in want before the spring in case any mischance should befall the Flat Heads so that they have been unsuccessful and do not bring in a supply. I much wished to detain the canoes till the F. Heads arrived but being anxious to get La Course to Spokan to commence the boat building as soon as possible, and being apprehensive that the Navigation might be stopped by the ice it is deemed necessary to send them off immediately, specially as the men have to go to Spokan for some supplies, and on account of the canoes it is very disirable that they get back by water.—

Tuesday 6th

Rain in the night & snow towards morning and snow & sleet during the day.

Sent off the two canoes 5 men each 7 of whom are to return and 3 to remain below. The canoes are not deep laden having only 22 pieces each besides the people's provisions.—

Th Old Chief La Buche took his departure in the evening. Some Indians traded a few beaver & appichimans.

Wed.y. 7

Rained hard in the night and all day.

Some Indians Pendent Oriells & Spokans traded nearly 40 beavers & some appichimans.—

With the constant rain the water is dripping through the houses in every direction. Sent word to the Indians to bring some mats to cover them.

Thursday 8

Continued raining all night & the greater part of the day.

Some Indian women arrived in the morning with mats which were traded and the men immediately set too to cover the houses with them which nearly completed befor night, at least the trading shop & store. We have only two men & the cook since we sent the people off.—

Received news from the F. Head camp they are still at a considerable distance and will be some time before they reach us, as their horses are very lean & they make but slow marching. It is said they have plenty of meat, but no amount of furs.—

Friday 9th.

Foggy with showers of rain.

A party of about 20 Nezperces arrived in the evening from the Buffalos[107] but deferred trading till tomorrow. Gave them to smoke. These peoples horses are very lean, & from them we learn that the Flat Heads horses are still worse in consequence of which it will still be some time before they come away. These Indians fired a salute to the Fort on their arrival.[108] It has been hitherto the custom to return the salute as I had omitted to do so to Old La Buche (from not knowing their customs,) when he arrived with a few young men and also fired, lest it would cause jealousy, however, as the old gentlemen again paid us a visit this evening, & was smoking with the chiefs we explained to him the cause of our not firing, and told thse people we would give them a round on their departure, which La Bouche said would give him no offense. I understand it is pleasing to the Indians to receive this mark of respect. As the expense is but trifling we intend returning their salutes when they arrive in future.—

Saturday 10th

Foggy in the morning, Sun shining occasionally during the day.

The Nezperces that arrived yesterday traded 18 beaver, 23 Appichimans, 2 Robes, 5 Saddles, 4 dressed skins, 97 Tongues, 10 (Bosses), & 11 Bales of Meat 665 lbs net., principally for Tobacco & ammunition.

Some other Indians visited the Fort but had little to trade.

Sunday 11

Overcast soft mild weather.

The Nezperces chief & his men went off for the Flat Head camp. A few shots were fired on their departure. A little Tobacco was sent with the chiefs to C. McKay[109] who is coming in with the Snake furs.—A young man arrived from the Kootany Chief who is encamped with all his people at a short distance & will be here tomorrow, A small piece of Tobacco was sent to the Chief.

Had 113 Buffalo Tongues salted in bags made of (pannefliches) having no kegs, we expect they will keep in the bags.

[107]Both Nez Perces and Flatheads spent the summer and fall hunting buffalo on the prairie along the Missouri river.

[108]For a graphic description of this custom consult Oregon Hist. Quarterly for December, 1913; given in Journal of Alex. Ross, who had charge of this Fort in Dec., 1824.

[109]Mr. McKay was bringing furs from Mr. Ogden's party, which had been in southern Idaho, but the main party had returned direct to Fort Walla Walla.

[110]Parflesches or saddle bags.

Monday 12

Foggy raw cold weather, drizzly rain in the evening.

The Kootany chief with about a dozen of his men arrived and smoked but brought no furs with them as they said they intended to trade tomorrow. The Chief it seems has been occasionally accustomed to get a dram on his arrival, and on asking for it got a glass of rum mixed with water, which, little as it was, with the smoking took him by the head and made him tipsy. A woman who goes in mens clothes[111] & is a leading character among them was also tipsy with ¾ of a glass of the mixed liquor and became noisy, some others of the leading men who got a little were not affected by it. Gave them some tobacco to smoke when they went off in the evening.

When it was dark 3 Au Plattes, another band of Kootenais, arrived for some Tobacco to smoke, these people are all afoot and were not able to keep up with the main band who have horses. They are all said to have plenty of beaver.

The men employed sorting and baling up meat.

Tuesday 13

Weighty rain in the night, soft mild weather during the night.

The Kootenay chiefs with 60 to 80 of his people arrived in the morning, and after smoking & conversing to about 11 oclock a brisk trade was commenced and continued on to night, when all their furs & leather was traded, the Chief got some tobacco for his people to smoke in the night besides a small present of Ammunition and beads 4 Pluis. A present was also given to, Bundosh[111],a woman who assumes a masculine character and is of some note among them, she acted as interpreter for us, she speaks F. Head well. A little ammunition & Tobacco was also given to some of the other leading men.—The trade was as follows, 481 Large & 205 small beaver, 8 Otters, 1200 Rats, 6 Fishes, 7 Mink, 10 Martens, 21 Elk skins, 27 Deer Skins, 9 (Pannefliches) & 31 fath. cords, which may be considered an excellent trade as it is seldom or never that things come up to it in the fall.—The Chief & indeed the whole of them went off apparently well pleased, though the trade is very cheap, excpt 12 guns, 3 blankts, and a few Kettles, principaly ammunition & Tobacco.—

Wed.y. 14

Blowing a storm with heavy rain in the night. Blowing fresh from the Northward all day, but fair.

111In 1811 two Indians in men's clothes appeared at Ft. Astoria, as related by Franchere, Ross and Irving. They returned to the interior with David Thompson's party that summer. He described them as Kootenays and one of them as a prophetess and this may be the same Indian.

The Kootany Chief with some of his people visited the fort & Traded 15 beaver a few rats & some dressed skins, The beaver traded today make up the Kootany trade now 488 Large & 213 small beaver.—

C, McKay & Joachim Hubert arrived with the Snake Furs, 17 packs & 4 partons, they had only 4 horses of the Companie's and not being able, as Mr Ogden expected, to obtain any assistance from the Indians, McKay, had to get part the furs carried by 4 Freemen who accompany him. Some of these freemen are in disgrace and will probably have to be punished for their conduct towards Mr Ogden, but as this gentleman has not written or sent any instructions on the subject, it was thought best to give them a dram & a piece of Tobacco and not make it appear that anything was against them till instructions which are written for, be received from below regarding how they are to be dealt with. These steps are necessary in order to endeavour to get the furs out of their hands so that they may not dispose of them in trade among the Indians.—The caches were not found all complete a few beaver belonging to one of the men's wives were missing and a cache of 100 Large beaver belonging to two of the freemen, Bastong & Gadua, was stolen by the Indians. The horses are very lean and would have been able to go little farther. They parted with the Indians some time ago. The F Heads will not be here for some time yet.

(To be continued.)

THE COLUMBIA RIVER UNDER HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY RULE

By his *Astoria* Washington Irving drew the eyes of the world to the now far famed Columbia River and perpetuated the story of the late John Jacob Astor's ill fated enterprise on the Pacific Coast. The name "Astoria" recalls, not only the trading fort which gave the book its title, but the varied adventures by sea and land of those who went forth to plant the Stars and Stripes on the Columbia and to secure for Mr. Astor's company a share of the rich fur trade of the far West.

If Mr. Astor's great enterprise was, through no fault of his, doomed to failure, almost from its beginning, it enabled him to supply, from the correspondence and journals of his co-partners and employees, material with which Washington Irving was able to shed the halo of a romantic early history upon the Columbia and the Northern Pacific Coast. Captain Bonneville's adventures enabled the illustrious author to extend his chronicles to regions further east.

Among the cherished possessions of the present writer is an old volume, presented to his father by the author. It was published in Montreal in 1820. It is written in French by G. Franchere, *fils*, one of the clerks who sailed in the *Tonquin* in 1810, on her memorable voyage round Cape Horn, to the Sandwich Islands and the Columbia, where he remained to assist in the founding of *Astoria* and other trading posts. On the cession of the posts to the Canadian "Northwest Company" he remained a few months in the employ of the latter, and returned over the mountains and by way of the Red River settlement and Lake Superior to Montreal in 1814. His narrative agrees in the main with that of Irving. Indeed, it is probable that it was one of the sources from which the latter obtained his account of the *Tonquin's* trip and subsequent events on the Columbia. On two points dwelt on by Irving it is, however, silent—the one, the marriage of Macdougall, one of the partners in the Astor company, to the dusky princess, the daughter of King Comcomly—the other, the chief part played by Macdougall in the transfer of Astoria to the British company. It is probable, however, that a marriage, after the Indian custom, may have

[1]Mr. C. O. Ermatinger, of St. Thomas, Ontario, the writer of this paper, is the son of the E. (Edward) Ermatinger and a nephew of the F. (Francis) Ermatinger who are mentioned in the entry on Monday, October 31st, 1825, of the Journal of John Work, which is printed in this Quarterly. Judge Ermatinger is a prominent member of the Elgin (County) Historical and Scientific Institute of Ontario, Canada. This paper was prepared for use in the East some years since; its publication in this Quarterly has now been kindly permitted.—T. C. Elliott.

taken place between these personages, M. Franchere not thinking it worth while to mention the matter, nor even the fact of the young woman's existence. That there was treachery toward Mr. Astor in McDougall's dealings with the North West Company is rather a matter of inference with Irving than a distinct charge. Franchere—who speaks of the bargain with the North West Company as participated in by all present at Astoria at the time—not being a partner, could scarcely know more than appeared on the surface.

The only sentence in English in Franchere's book is contained in a footnote. It is the now historic exclamation of Captain Black of His Majesty's ship *Racoon* when he landed at Astoria: "What! Is this the Fort I have heard so much of! Great God! I could batter it down with a four pounder in two hours." Franchere evidently thought his French rendering of these memorable words did not do the gallant captain complete justice, so he re-translated them, and Irving repeats them in all their nautical Anglo-Saxon vigour.

Washington Irving's chronicle of Astoria practically closed with the cession of that post to McTavish, representing the North West Company—with the running up of the British in place of the American flag at the Fort in 1813 and the change of name from Astoria to "Fort George." As the North West Company thus swallowed up the American Company in 1813, so in 1821 the Hudson's Bay Company practically swallowed the North West Company—though the settlement of the irregular warfare, waged for years between these rival British companies, was termed an association or coalition.

The industrious beaver and his less industrious neighbour, the Indian, saw little or no change. It will, however, be remembered by readers of *Astoria* how disgusted was the worthy one-eyed monarch, King Comcomly, chief of the Chinooks, at the sudden change of flag at Astoria, brought about by his son-in-law, McDougall, whom he finally concluded to be a squaw rather than a warrior. Yet Comcomly lived on and, making a virtue of necessity, cultivated friendship and amity with the British as he had before with the Americans. His poor opinion of his whilom son-in-law may have subsequently been confused by the fact of the latter's leaving the princess, his wife, behind when he left the country—though, as a rule, both the wife and her family in such cases preferred her remaining among her own people to venturing into the haunts of civilization. The divorced princess in question, too, we resarved for higher honours; as we are told by Paul Kane, a Canadian artist and traveller, who visited the country in the forties, that she subsequently became the favourite wife of a powerful chief named Casanov, who could previously to 1829 lead

into the field 1000 men—leaving at home, at the same time, ten wives, four children and eighteen slaves. Casanov is described as a man of more than ordinary talent for an Indian, and of great influence with the people whom he governed, in the vicinity of the British fort, Vancouver—Chinooks and Klickataats. He possessed, among other luxuries, a functionary, known as his "Scooccone" or "evil genius"—a sort of Lord High Executioner—whose duty it was to remove persons obnoxious to his lord and master, by assassination. This functionary had the misfortune to fall in love with one of Casanov's wives, who eloped with him—with the result that, though they at first eluded his search, Casanov at length met and "removed" his errant wife on the Cowlitz river and procured also a like fate for her lover, the whilom executioner himself.

It was the belief of the chiefs that they and their sons were personages so important that their deaths could not occur in a natural way, but were always attributable to the malevolent influence of some one, whom they selected in an unaccountable manner and unhesitatingly sacrificed. One most near and dear to the deaceased was as likely to be selected as another. The former wife of McDougall, now favourite wife of Casanov, was thus selected by him, to accompany her own son, who died of consumption, to the great beyond, but she escaped and sought and was accorded protection at Fort Vancouver. Mr. Black, an officer of the Hudson's Bay Company in charge of their Fort on Thompson's River, fell a victim to the same superstitutions custom—shot in the back by the nephew of an old chief with whom Black had been on the most friendly terms, at the instigation of the dead chief's widow. Regard for Mr. Black, however, impelled the young man's tribe to ignore the sanction of the custom and hunt down and put him to death.

The company chartered by gay King Charles II—"the company of gentleman adventurers trading into Hudson's Bay," or "the Honourable the Hudson's Bay Company"—as it was and still is styled—was undoubtedly the dominant partner in the new coalition. Newspaper and pamphlet warfare occasionally broke out between partizans or admirers of the former rival corporations during the next half century—an occasional flow of ink of controversy instead of the flow of blood which sometimes characterized their collisions in former days—but the North West Company had ceased to exist, while the Hudson's Bay Company ruled almost half a continent.

On the Columbia their chief post was established ninety miles up the river from the sea and was called Fort Vancouver—which must not be confused with the flourishing young city at the western terminus of the Canadian Pacific Railway. Fort George or Astoria became thereafter

a subsidiary post, utilized as a place from which a watch could be kept on the movements of American traders. Though the territory now comprising Oregon and Washington was claimed by the United States ever since Captain Gray with his good ship *Columbia* passed the dreaded bar and gave the river a name, the Hudson's Bay Company was, under a series of ten-year treaties between the two nations, leaving the question of ownership open—providing indeed for a joint occupation—in practical possession of the country and its trade, until the boundary question was finally settled in 1846—not long after which the company withdrew its headquarters to the north of the 49th parallel. The company gradually obtained control by lease of a number of the Russian posts as well, maintaining also vessels to trade along the seashore. The country tributary to the Columbia was rich in furs in those days. Eve nas late as 1840, one trader, for example, was able to bring out of the Snake country 3300 beaver and otter skins, the result of his season's work for the company.

Though Sir George Simpson was the governor in chief of the Hudson's Bay Company after the coalition, the dominant spirit west of the Rocky Mountains for some twenty-five years was Dr. John McLaughlin—the "Big Doctor," as he was familiarly termed. "He was the partner in charge of the whole Columbia department, to which is attached that of New Caledonia and Fraser River, for more than a quarter of a century," wrote an old Hudson's Bay clerk* who knew the doctor, "a more indefatigable and enterprising man it would have been difficult to find. With an energetic and indomitable spirit, his capacious mind conceived and pushed forward every kind of improvement for the advancement of commerce and the benefit of civilization. Wtih only seven head of horned cattle and others which he imported from California, by good management and perseverance, he stocked the whole of the Oregon territory, until they had increased to thousands. He built saw mills and cultivated an extensive farm on the beautiful prairie of Fort Vancouver. Subsequently he laid the foundation of Oregon City, where he built a splendid grist mill. The machinery of the mill he imported from Scotland and from the same country a good, practical miller. * * * * By every means in his power he promoted trade and commerce with other countries. To Sitka, the principal Russian establishment, the company exported produce—chiefly wheat —to the Sandwich Islands lumber and salmon, and to California, hides and tallow. In short, under Dr. McLaughlin's management, everything was done to develop the resources of the country." Two military officers, Warre and Vavaseur, who visited Oregon on the part of the British government, reported that the doctor favoured the Americans. While his correspond-

*The present writer's father.

ence shows a sympathy with the advanced political party in Canada, which at that time would have been there regarded as proof positive of "Americanism," the fact is that the doctor's mind was of that liberal cast which favoured everyone who could be useful to the country, Britisher or foreigner. This is borne out by his actions as well as his unpublished correspondence.

Not only was there an extensive farm established at Fort Vancouver, but others at Fort Colville and on the Cowlitz, while a large grazing company or association was formed, to raise sheep, near Puget's Sound. The doctor was, moreover, anxious to wean the red man from his savage life to agricultural pursuits, as well as to promote in every way the settlement of the country. He succeeded in making cattle plentiful by forbidding the killing of any for a considerable period. At last he wrote in 1837, "I killed forty head of cattle last summer, so, you see, the taboo is broken." He hailed with satisfaction the arrival of missionaries, both Protestant and Roman Catholic, and did much to inculcate temperate habits among the people, both whites and natives. Indeed, in 1843 he rejoiced in having for a number of years successfully enforced a prohibitory law for both Indians and the French settlers on the Willamette, at that time numbering 200, ninety per cent of whom were old voyageurs and American Rocky Mountain trappers, yet with few exceptions temperance men, "which," quaintly wrote the doctor, "I think may be said to be unique of its nature in such a number." The American traders seem to have been his chief foes in the region of the Columbia, in regard to the liquor traffic—as the Russians were in the regions farther North.

The doctor was a firm believer in exemplary punishment for crime, especially in territories where such punishment only would act as a deterrent on savages, who might at any time be tempted to outrage. One instance of his method of dealing with such cases may be referred to.

From an old manuscript report of one of the Company's traders, who took part in the proceedings detailed, the following particulars are gleaned. In January, 1828, Mr. Alexander McKenzie and four men under his charge were murdered on Puget's Sound, on their way from Fort Langley, and an Indian woman of the party carried off, by the tribe known as the Clallums. All the effective men at Fort Vancouver were mustered and told by Chief Factor McLaughlin of the affair and of the necessity for an expedition being sent off in search of the murderous tribe, to make a salutary example of them if possible. A call for volunteers brought a ready response and on the 17th June a force of upwards of sixty men under Chief Trader Alex. R. McLeod set forth, with a salute of cannon from the fort and cheers from the officers and crew of the *Eagle*—presumably an

American vessel. The voyageurs having enjoyed their customary *regale* and the Iroquois their war dance, on the previous evening, no delay for these ever necessary functions occurred and the expedition proceeded down the Columbia and up the Cowlitz to the *portage*, where their boats were *cached*, and horses obtained. Then the motley army, consisting of Canadians, half-breeds, Iroquois, Sandwich Islanders and Chinooks, with Scotch and English officers, mounted, set forth, looking, as the chronicler thought, more like a band of gypsies than a force collected for the purpose in view. At the end of the *portage* the force again embarked in canoes and on 1st July, coming upon a couple of lodges, one, understood to be occupied by Clallums, was at once attacked and death immediately dealt out to its inmates, ruthlessly, regardless apparently as to whether they were concerned in the murder of McKenzie and his party or not, while in the semi-darkness of evening men, women and even children appear to have shared the same fate.

Off Cape Townsend the company's vessel *Cadboro'*, Captain Simpson, was sighted. Thereafter the land and naval forces co-operated—so far, at least, as the somewhat divergent views and orders of their respective commanders permitted. A day or two was spent off one of the Clallum villages, near New Dungeness, in apparently fruitless negotiations for the return of the Indian woman, whose father was a man of great influence in his own tribe. Not until a chief and eight others had been slain by shots from the vessel's guns and a bombardment of a village, where some articles of Mc. McKenzie's were found, had taken place, was the woman brought on board. A second village, from which the murderers of McKenzie's party were said to have set out, was burned. The force then parted from the *Cadboro'* and returned to Fort Vancouver. The Indians stated that seven people had been killed at the lodge fired upon on the 1st, and that the friends of these had at once avenged their deaths, by putting to death two of the principal murderers of McKenzie. In all, they reported 25 people killed in these various affrays, to avenge the original crime, not to speak of a very considerable quantity of Indian property destroyed.

It would be unjust to charge Dr. McLaughlin with the responsibility for the entire proceedings of this merciless expedition. What his instructions to *Mr. McLeod* were that gentleman kept pretty well to himself. Unfortunately the latter showed vacillation and timidity, at the moments when firmness and promptness were required, disputed and quarrelled with Captain Simpson on board his own vessel, assumed too much authority at one time, too little at another, with the result that indiscriminate slaughter and destruction of property seem to have taken the place of just and merited

punishment. It is to be presumed, however, that the deterrent effect was produced, at any rate as to the Clallums.

The population, native and foreign, of the Columbia district, at this period, was of a wonderfully heterogeneous character. The number of small tribes into which the native population of the Pacific Coast and islands was divided is well known to have been large. Yet Indians from the plains and Iroquois from the far East had come in as servants of the company, while Sandwich Islanders—or Owhyhees (Hawaiians) as they were termed —were among almost all the company's crews and forces. French halfbreeds and others of varying tints and gay costumes lent picturesqueness to the Hudson's Bay posts and campfires. Sir George Simpson gives a striking instance of the variety in colour and language afforded by a single boatload. "Our batteau carried as curious a muster of races and languages as perhaps had ever been congregated within the same compass in any part of the world. Our crew of ten men contained Iroquois, who spoke their own tongue; a Cree halfbreed of French origin, who appeared to have borrowed his dialect from both his parents; a North Briton, who understood only the Gaelic of his native hills; Canadians who, of course, knew French; and Sandwich Islanders, who jabbered a medley of Chinook and their own vernacular jargon. Add to all this that the passengers were natives of England, Scotland, Russia, Canada and the Hudson's Bay Company's territories; and you have the prettiest congregation of nations, the nicest confusion of tongues, that has ever taken place since the days of the tower of Babel. At the native camp near which we halted for the night, we enriched our clans with one variety more, by hiring a canoe and its complement of Chinooks, to accompany us."

Sir George Simpson was at this time on his famous overland journey round the world, having the previous day, Sept. 1st, 1841, left Fort Vancouver, where, by the way, his party found two vessels of the United States exploring squadron under command of Lieutenant (afterward) Commodore Wilkes, which contributed much to the enjoyment of their week's stay there. The circumnavigators had parted on the beach at Fort Vancouver with Lieutenant Wilkes and party and had added to their number another Hudson's Bay officer, Mr. Douglas (afterwards Sir James Douglas, governor of Vancouver Island) and had visited the company's extensive dairy on the delta or island of Multnomah or Wappatoo. Thence down the Columbia and up the Cowlitz, across to Fort Nisqually and Puget's Sound, visiting the Cowlitz farm and the sheep ranch—a four days' journey from Fort Vancouver brought them to the company's steamer, the *Beaver,* on which they set out for the posts of the Pacific coast and Sitka—that coast trip now familiar to thousands of goldseekers.

At the Stikine (or Stickeen) River—a place much in the world's eye during the past year or two—Sir George found young John McLaughlin, a son of the big doctor, in charge of the company's post, with a force of twenty-two men. The governor next proceeded to Sitka, and, after a somewhat protracted side trip to California and the Sandwich Islands, returned in the Spring of '42 to Stikine on board the company's ship, the *Cowlitz,* in tow of a Russian steamer loaned him by Governor Etholine of Sitka—to find that young McLaughlin had just been murdered by his own men, who were in a state of mingled mutiny and intoxication within the fort, while about 2000 Indians were gathered without, in readiness to take advantage of the insurrection within! The opportune arrival of Sir George, with two ships' crews at his disposal, enabled him to speedily quell the disturbance and disperse the Indians, after preparing their minds for a measure which the company was anxious here as elsewhere to enforce —the discontinuance of the liquor traffic. It may here be remarked that the one good result of this most unhappy tragedy at the Stikine was the agreement arrived at soon after with the Russian company—whose bad example had been held to necessitate the British company's fighting "firewater" with "firewater" at competitive trading posts—under which agreement both companis inaugurated a prohibitory liquor law on this coast.

Doubts as to his powers and the best policy to pursue led Sir George to take the man who fired the fatal shot with him to Sitka, whither he was returning *en route* to Siberia and Europe. For a less comprehensible reason he sent another man—a supposed participant in the affair—to Fort Vancouver, accompanied by a letter to Dr. McLaughlin, apprising him of the tragedy and casting some blame upon the murdered son for the insurrection. The letter the big doctor had, of course, no alternate but to receive, but the man he would not see nor so much as suffer to set foot on shore at Fort Vancouver—but had him kept a prisoner on board the *Cadboro.* On a trip of that vessel to Vancouver Island, this man saw Mr. Douglas and at once made a confession to him, implicating all the people at Stikine in a plot to murder John the younger. He even stated that an agreement to that effect had been drawn up by the man who was acting as a temporary assistant or clerk to the murdered man. The confession absolved the young trader from the charge of drunkenness and contradicted the depositions taken by Sir George in every material point. Little wonder is it that the doctor, smarting under the blow received, was not satisfied with the apparently easy methods pursued by Sir George, with whom he had moreover recently exchanged some angry words in California on matters of business; nor that he sent an officer of the company to Mr. Manson, with a complete new complement of men, to the Stikine to re-open the in-

vestigation—with no known retributive result, though the evidence taken tends to justify the doctor's summing up—his vigorous penmanship adding strength to his words—"The short and the long of the affair is, these fellows wanted to impose on my son, to which he would not submit"—true chip of the old block it seemed!—"They, finding they could not make him bend, conspired and murdered him."

It is worthy of note that at the last the young man seems to have relied upon his Owhyhees (Hawaiians) to make a stand against the whites.

The doctor's subordinate officers at these various and remote posts eagerly scanned all news of the affair which reached them and sympathized with the afflicted father—but they could scarcely grasp the situation in all its details of doubt and difficulty as to criminal procedure, territorial jurisdiction, etc. "I fear we have got ourselves into a hobble and that it will turn out we are more *au fait* in our humble occupation as Indian traders than as the dispensary of Her Majesty's criminal law," wrote one. But the big doctor's feelings were still aroused—he attributed, whether rightly or wrongly, his son's death to Sir George indirectly, as a result of the governor's having removed a trusted man, Mr. Finlayson, from the post of assistant to the young trader, substituting a labourer in his place—and he carried the matter before the heads of the company in England—"wrote a thundering epistle to their honours at home, concerning Sir George, ripping up old grievances," as another old trader, John Tod (1 Sept. 1842) put it. Yet Sir George remained at the head of the company, while the old doctor continued to mourn the unavenged death of the son he evidently loved much.

The witnesses who were examined by Mr. Manson at Stikine testified that the document referred to by their former comrade in his confession, as an agreement to murder the trader, was simply a formal complaint against him, which they intended presenting to Sir George Simpson, as head of the company, on his expected arrival—but that it was never presented, but destroyed, because it was too dirty to be presented to the governor. Not only was Sir George a man whose examples as to soiled documents had to be considered, but he seems to have had a prejudice in favour of clean linen as well—as the following less tragic incident would seem to indicate: Sir George at one time wrote Dr. McLaughlin to remove the officer in charge of Fort George (Astoria), with a seven years' pension. The doctor declared the governor "must do his dirty work himself," and took no decisive steps to interfere with the officer in question, who was described as youthful in apeparance, though fat and indolent, but with "children enough for a colony." The officer nominated to succeed him enquired of the condemned, what he had done to offend the

governor. He stated that Sir George had sent two cotton shirts ashore to be washed and while they were being taken, under the fat officer's charge, from the fort to the ship, one of them fell overboard—but he declared his intention of sending another to London and hoped his offense would be forgiven. His propritiatory offering, or Sir George's better feelings, it is presumed, prevented his becoming the victim of another "tale of a shirt," by an ignominious expulsion from office, for such a cause.

On December 8th, 1846, there arrived at Fort Vancouver a person whose errand was of a novel character to dwellers upon the Columbia—Mr. Paul Kane, to whom reference has already been made, was a native of Toronto, who had adopted painting as the profession of his choice and, after spending some four years in Europe qualifying himself in his art, conceived the idea of making an overland trip across the continent, making sketches, as he proceeded, of the representative Indians of the various tribes and of the scenery of the country through which he passed, then an almost unbroken wilderness. He spent nearly four years in these wanderings, to and from the Pacific, sketching portraits of chiefs, medicine men, warriors, their wives and daughters—also fishing, hunting and other scenes, illustrative of the customs, occupations and amusements of the red men and the physical features of the country. From these sketches he subsequently executed many paintings, some of which are on the walls of the embryo Canadian national gallery at Ottawa, but a much more extensive and elaborate series in oils—numbering about 100 canvasses—is among the valued possessions of a Toronto gentleman, the Hon. George W. Allen, Canadian senator.* The artist's Journal, published in London in 1859, with specimens of his work—now unfortunately out of print—gave an interesting narrative of his travels and adventures, with much of the history and folklore of the various people of the Northwestern regions.

Kane reached the height of land on November 12th. His voyage down the Columbia to Fort Vancouver he accomplished in little more than a fortnight—including stoppages at Forts Colville and Walla Walla *en route*—whereas it took him four months to cover the same distance on his return the following year.

It may well be imagined that the advent of such a character excited no little interest. At Fort Vancouver two chief factors, Messieurs Douglas and Ogden, now reigned, in place of Dr. McLaughlin, with eight or ten clerks and 200 voyageurs. Her Majesty's warship *Modeste*, with her complement of officers, lay in the broad river, opposite the fort. Outside the stockade was the village with its motley population of English, French,

*Now deaceased. The paintings were purchased I believe by Mr. C. B. Estes, M. P., of Toronto.

Iroquois, Sandwich Islanders, Crees and Chinooks, and its confusion of tongues. The artist enjoyed the hospitality of the officers at the fort for about a month and on 10 January, 1847, in company with Mr. MacKenzie, a chief trader, proceeded up the Willamette to OregonCity, passing "two cities that are to be," one of which contained but two houses and the other not much more advanced. Oregon City, located by Dr. McLaughlin, who owned the chief mills, contained then about ninety-four houses and two or three hundred inhabitants, a Methodist and a Roman Catholic church, two grist mills and as many hotels. A lawyer and "doctors ad libitum" were already on the ground. That it would be rivalled, if not eclipsed, by a city to be built where Portland now is, was even then predicted, owing to intervening impediments to navigation. A few weeks at Oregon City and a few days at the Roman Catholic missions further up the Willamette, and Kane returnd to spend the balance of the winter pleasantly with the Hudson's Bay and naval officers at Fort Vancouver in riding, and in fishing and shooting the waterfowl and seal with which the neighbbourhood abounded. In the Spring he made a trip to Vancouver Island and adjacent coasts and islands, returning to Fort Vancouver in June, and on July 1st began his homeward journey.

The artist was regarded as a great "medicine man" by the natives, who sometimes gathered in great numbers to watch him manipulate his supposed implements of magic—insomuch that at one village on the coast of De Fuca Straits, so great was the crowd gathered in the head chief's lodge that it was filled, and those outside climbed to the roof and, tearing the mats from their supports, to which they slung one upon another, peered down at him from above. He experienced much difficulty everywhere, however, in prevailing upon the natives to sit for their portraits, owing to their superstitious fear that the possessor of their likenesses would have some mysterious power or evil influence over them. In addition to entreaties and bribes, he had sometimes to resort to various strategies and arguments to attain his end—as, for instance, that the pictures were to be shown to their "great mother," the queen, who would no doubt be much disappointed on missing his proposed subject's portrait. On one occasion he allayed the fears of a repentant sitter, who continued to pursue him only by hastily preparing a duplicate sketch of him and destroying the duplicate in his presence—on another occasion he was in great peril owing to the unexpected death of one of his subjects—a woman—whose demise was attributed to his malign influence.

Kane, notwithstanding, had many interesting subjects. Among others he met at Fort Victoria the great Yellow-cum, head chief of the Macaws at Cape Flattery and the wealthiest man of his tribe in slaves and

iaquas, the shell money then in circulation there. His father was the pilot of the *Tonquin*, who escaped destruction by the terrible explosion, which blew in pieces Mr. Astor's ship, with the man who fired the magazine and all the savage horde on her deck. On his way home he paid a four days' visit to Dr. Whitman, the well known missionary, and his family at their home on the banks of the Walla Walla. The doctor took him to see an Indian named To-ma-kus that he might take his likeness—his appearance being the most savage, Kane says, he ever beheld. The Indian, a prey to superstitiuous fears, endeavoured to burn the sketch made of him by Kane, who snatched it from him and fled, the man appearing to be greatly enraged. The circumstance is referred to, as it must have been peculiarly distressing to the artist to hear when at Colville of the massacre of Doctor and Mrs. Whitman and a dozen others and that the ferocious To-ma-kus was the man who had tomahawked his late host, while another Indian, whom he had sketched, was present when the deed was done. Kane had, however, done all he could to warn Dr. Whitman of his danger and endeavoured to persuade him to seek safety at Fort Walla Walla—having, indeed, taken a three hours' ride back from the fort, where he had heard and seen enough to arouse his fears for the missionary, to the missionary—but in vain. The devoted man said he had lived so long among these Indians that he had no apprehension of their injuring him—yet they attributed, it seems, to him various ills which Providence and their enemies visited upon them, with the lamentable result just mentioned. Rev. H. Spalding and family were made prisoners by another tribe, from whom, however, Mr. Ogden, chief factor of the Hudson's Bay Company, who had at once repaired to the scene on hearing of the trouble, purchased their release.

The light of the gospel had first been brought to the natives of the Columbia some 14 years before this sad occurrence by a young Indian lad, christened Spaganbarry, by the English missionary at Red River, where he with some other sons of chiefs, had been sent in 1825, through the instrumentality of Governor Simpson. He returned in 1832 and subsequently spent some time in instructing his people, but afterwards himself lapsed into a profligate and savage life, according to the testimony of Governor Simpson himself. The Methodist Episcopal mission on the Willamette was begun by the Lees in 1834. In 1836 Dr. Whitman and Rev. H. Spalding with their wives—said to have been the first white women to cross the mountains—had begun their work among the Indians, as did also two Roman Catholic missionaries in 1838—while a chaplain, Rev. Mr. Beaver, and his wife, had come from England to supply the spiritual wants of Fort Vancouver. More than a decade of Christian

teaching, it will be seen, had failed to eradicate superstition and savagery from the native character; yet the same spirit which has imbued those who have suffered similarly in Africa and China, in more recent years, has inspired the soldiers of the Cross on the Columbia and its tributaries to persist in their self-sacrificing labours, with what success the present residents of Oregon and Washington can best attest.

The difference in appearance and customs, as well as language, between the Indians of the plains east of the mountains and those of the coast was great. Washington Irving attributed—no doubt correctly—the bent legs, corpulent bodies and generally squat appearance of the latter, as compared with the tall, straight figures of many of the natives of the East, to their life as fishermen and mariners, constantly squatting in canoes, while the aborigines of the plains scoured the prairies in the chase. Their disposal of their dead also reflected the character of the coast Indian's life—their cemetaries being collections of elaborately decorated canoes, containing the corpses, and finished with all manner of paraphernalia and provision for the deceased in their future state, in happy *fishing*, rather than *hunting*, grounds.

Slavery was rife among the aborigines of the coast, the number of a man's wives and slaves being the two chief items in estimating his importance. The lives of these slaves were completely at the mercy of their owners, who killed them without compunction whenever the occasion seemed to them to call for such a sacrifice.

The custom of flattening the head in infancy was a characteristic of certain of the tribes in the region of the Columbia and Puget's Sound, especially of the Chinooks and Cowlitz Indians. The process, which is well depicted, as well as described by Paul Kane, commenced with the birth of the infant and continued for a period of from eight to twelve months, in which time the head had lost its natural shape and acquired that of a wedge, the front of the skull flat and higher at the crown, giving it a very unnatural appearance. The infants are said to have shown no signs of suffering while subjected to the treatment, but on the contrary to have cried when their bands were removed—nor was their health or acuteness of intellect apparently impaired by it. The Flatheads took their slaves from among the roundhead tribes, the former looking with contempt even upon the whites, whose heads had grown in the natural shape which served to distinguish slaves from their masters.

The fondness of the Indian for arraying himself in the white man's garments, especially if they be of a showy or striking appearance, has been often remarked, and the Indians of the Columbia were no exception to the rule. "I remember old King Comcomly," said the old Hudson's Bay

clerk quoted in the earlier part of this article* ,"once marching into Vancouver, with all his naked aides and followers, rigged out in a British general's uniform. But His Majesty had thrown off the pantaloons before he marched out—considering that they impeded his progress"—a scene which reminds one somewhat of the visit of the founder of the late Hawaiian dynasty and his suite to the *Tonquin*, while she lay at the Sandwich Islands.

The lot of the officers and clerks at the more remote posts of the Hudson's Bay Company was, in most cases, by no means an enviable one. Their letters to their friends and to each other—usually long and neatly written documents—contained many a tale of dangers surmounted and hardships endured. One wrote from Colville, in 1835, "we had five or six hundred Blakfeet upon us and fought some hours"; another, speaking of Fort Simpson in the same year, said: "A winter voyage on that rugged stormy coast is both dangerous and unpleasant and, when arrived, the matter is not much mended. The natives are very numerous, treacherous, daring, savage and ferocious in the extreme." Separated from his family, whom he would not expose to the dangers of the voyage, he exclaims against the country of his exile. Such instances might be multiplied and it is little matter of wonder that the burden of the trader's letter was at all times an expression of longing for the time when he hoped to "go out" to the far away civilized world and that he invariably looked upon one already there as in a situation akin to Paradise. The hope of promotion—which could not begin until after many years of service—the heartburnings at sometimes being passed over, the long waits of twenty or even thirty years for their "parchments," as they termed their commissions as chief factors or chief traders—were the subject of ceaseless thought and some grumbling. Now and again the bullet, knife or tomahawk of some treacherous foe would put an end to the earthly solitude of the trader at a remote post. In spite of all their drawbacks, however, the Hudson's Bay factors, traders and clerks formed a brotherhood of men, who, for courage, loyalty to the service and good comradeship, were unexcelled perhaps anywhere. In Eastern Canada, the Red River settlement and Vancouver Island, which formed the chief havens of their retirement from service, the old Nor'westers and Hudson's Bay men formed a confraternity of large-hearted and often opulent veterans, full of affection for their families and old comrades and of thankfulness to God for mercies vouchsafed them. That not only the highest position in the company's service, but the highest imperial honours as well, were open to the Hudson's Bay clerk possessing the necessary ability, tact, vigour and perseverance is evidenced by the

*The writer's father.

case of the Hon. Sir Donald A. Smith, who, entering company's service as a lad from Scotland, 18 years of age, has risen, step by step, to the highest position in that service, has amassed great wealth, held a seat for many years in the Canadian parliament, and occupies now the important position of High Commissioner for Canada at London, where he holds a seat in the House of Lords as Baron Strathcona and Mount Royal.

As already stated, the Hudson's Bay Company withdrew headquarters to the north of the present boundary after it became fixed in 1846. Meantime settlement, especially in the Willamette valley, was going on apace and cities and towns arose. Though the fur trade departed, the fisheries have remained and the city of Astoria has been reared chiefly on a diet of fish—for the salmon and sturgeon, as well as smaller fish, of the Columbia, were ever justly celebrated. Ships of all nations found their way in increasing numbers across that bar which has ever been the chief drawback to navigation to and from the Columbia. Across the broad river down which the express boat propelled by the light-hearted, gaily-singing voyageurs, made its way in former times, the swift express train now travels with passengers who mayhap have crossed the continent in less time than would, in the early days, have been consumed in a trip from Spokane to Fort Vancouver.

C. O. ERMATINGER.

THREE DIPLOMATS PROMINENT IN THE OREGON QUESTION[1]

English-speaking people throughout the world are preparing to celebrate the century of peace which was begun on Christmas Eve, 1814, by the signing of the Treaty of Ghent. It is especially appropriate that here, in the Pacific Northwestern part of America, we should join in such a celebration, for it was by the Treaty of Ghent that the Oregon Question first entered the realm of diplomacy. There remained thirty-one years of struggle for sovereignty, during which war seemed imminent on more than one occasion, and yet, at the end of that period, the case was settled by diplomacy.

Many men took part in that struggle, but it is the present purpose to call attention to three eminent American statesmen who were brought into contact with he diplomacy of the case at each important stage of its evolution. As a group, they deserve more credit than is usually accorded to them in Northwestern annals. Their names are John Quincy Adams, Henry Clay and Albert Gallatin.

It is not necessary to trace their early careers, except to point out that they fairly represented the United States in the critical year of 1814. Adams of Massachusetts was a New Englander. Clay, though born in Virginia, removed to Kentucky, at the age of twenty, to begin the practice of law. He thus represented the West as well as the South. Gallatin, born in Geneva, Switzerland, came to America, a boy of nineteen years, and passed through remarkable experiences in Massachusetts, Maine, Pennsylvania and Virginia, settling finally in New York City, a man of fame and wealth.

During the War of 1812, these three men were in public service as follows: John Quincy Adams was United States Minister to Russia; Henry Clay was Speaker of the House of Representatives, and Albert Gallatin was rounding out his twelfth year as Secretary of the Treasury. When Czar Alexander offered to end the war by mediation, President Madison took the proposal very seriously. He appointed Clay and Gallatin as commissioners to join Minister Adams in the negotiations. The two resigned their important positions to accept the new duty. When they arrived at St. Petersburg, it was learned that Great Britain had declined the Czar's offer of mediation.

There followed months of weary waiting. The victories over Napoleon relieved the pressure on Great Britain, but she finally made the proposal for commissioners of the two powers to meet in a neutral port.

[1]Presidential address for the special meeting of the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association, Seattle, 22 May, 1914.

Ghent was chosen and the United States added James A. Bayard and Jonathan Russell to their commission.

The long and tedious record of the negotiation reveals many a discord between the two sides but, much more unfortunate, it also reveals many clashes between Adams and Clay within the American commission. Adams insisted on protecting the fishing rights off British American shores and Clay wanted to deprive England from the use of the Mississippi River. Clay even tried to stop negotiations at the last moment. Adams says: "Gallatin and Bayard, who appeared not to know where it was that Clay's shoe pinched him, were astonished at what they heard, and Gallatin showed some impatience at what he thought mere unseasonable trifling."[1] Yet Gallatin surely did know where the shoe pinched and he was determined that the larger interests should not be jeopardized. His biographer says: "Far more than contemporaries ever supposed, or than is now imagined, the Treaty of Ghent was the special work and the peculiar triumph of Mr. Gallatin."[2] The biographer of Clay also refers to Gallatin's resources as a peacemaker, adding: "At the very last, just before separating, Adams and Clay quarreled about the custody of the papers, in language bordering upon the unparliamentary. But for the consummate tact and the authority of Gallatin the commission would not seldom have been in danger of breaking up in heated controversy."[3]

These quarrels of the pinching shoes had little to do with the Oregon Question. They reveal, however, some of the qualities of the men destined to cling to the question for many years. Oregon is not mentioned in the completed treaty. In general terms it is included in the following language of Article 1: "All territory, places and possessions whatsoever, taken by either party from the other during the war, or which may be taken after the signing of this treaty, excepting only the islands hereinafter mentiond, shall be restored without delay, and without causing any destruction or carrying away any of the artillery or other public property originally captured in the said forts or places, and which shall remain therein upon the exchange of ratifications of this treaty, or any slaves or other private property."[4] The islands mentioned were those in Passamaquoddy Bay and Gallatin suspected that the British commissioners desired to pave the way for securing in the future a part of Maine "in order to connect New Brunswick and Quebec."[5]

[1]Charles Francis Adams: Memoirs of John Quincy Adams, III., 121, 22 Dec., 1814.

[2]Henry Adams: Life of Albert Gallatin, 546. Quoted by John Austin Stevens: Albert Gallatin, 335.

[3]Carl Schurz: Henry Clay, I., 113.

[4]William M. Malloy: Treaties, Conventions, International Acts, Protocols and Agreements between the United States of America and Other Powers, 1776-1909, I., 613.

[5]American State Papers, Foreign Relations, IV., 811. (Mr. Gallatin to the Secretary of State, 25 December, 1815.)

That Oregon was included in the treaty's general terms is shown by the instructions from Secretary of State Monroe to the American commissioners under date of March 22, 1814: "Should a treaty be concluded with Great Britain, and a reciprocal restitution of territory be agreed on, you will have it in recollection that the United States had in their possession, at the commencement of the war, a post at the mouth of the river Columbia, which commanded the river, which ought to be comprised in the stipulation, should the possession have been wrested from us during the war. On no pretext can the British Government set up a claim to territory south of the northern boundary of the United States. It is not believed that they have any claim whatever to territory on the Pacific Ocean. You will, however, be careful, should a definition of boundary be attempted, not to countenance, in any manner, or in any quarter, a pretension in the British Government to territory south of that line."[6]

The American commissioners were therefore informed as to the determined attitude of the United States as to Oregon and Adams declares that the British understood that Oregon was included in the provisions of Article 1 of the Treaty of Ghent. He says that Anthony St. John Baker, Secretary of the British Commission, was to go to America with the ratification of the treaty and, later, he says that Baker showed in a letter to Secretary of State Monroe that the British understood that Astoria was included in he terms of Article 1 of the Treaty of Ghent.[7] Subsequently (21 February, 1822) it was revealed by the publication of the report of the American commissioners, dated at Ghent, 25 December, 1814, the day after the treaty was signed, that an attempt had been made to settle the boundary from the Lake of the Woods westward along the forty-ninth parallel of latitude. That would have settled the Oregon controversy then. It was rejected because it was involved with "a formal abandonment on our part, of our claim to the liberty as to the fisheries, recognized by the treaty of 1783."[8]

That Oregon was included in the provisions of the Treaty of Ghent was recognized in 1818 by the formal transfer of Astoria (Fort George of the British) to J. B. Prevost, representing the United States for the purpose of that transfer.

In the same year, 1818, was signed by Great Britain and the United States an agreement that has since been known in the Oregon country as

[6]American State Papers, Foreign Relations, III., p. 731. The copy of this document was submitted to Congress in response to the Senate's request of 15 February, 1815. The statement was made that it was one of only two documents that had been withheld from Congress. In a former document under date of 21 March, 1814, there appears the line: "(Confidential paragraph omitted.)," which may be the same as that given above, though the date is one day later.

[7]John Quincy Adams: Memoirs, IV., 93-94; (15 May, 1818).

[8]American State Papers, Foreign Relations, IV., 808-811.

the Treaty or Convention of Joint Occupancy. The official title is Convention Respecting Fisheries, Boundary and the Restoration of Slaves. Article III of this convention provided that "any country that may be claimed by either party on the northwest coast of America, westward of the Stony Mountains" should for the term of ten years be free and open to "the vessels, citizens and subjects of the two Powers."[9] There were no American settlers in Oregon then. The Northwest Company of Montreal had a number of trading posts. The convention was a mutual confession that the future would have to solve the question of actual sovereignty. When that convention was signed, John Quincy Adams was Secretary of State, Henry Clay was Speaker of the House of Representatives, and Albert Gallatin was United States Minister to France. But he was directed to go from Paris to London to join United States Minister Richard Rush in the negotiations and Gallatin's name is the first signature on the completed document.

On 22 February, 1819, John Quincy Adams, as Secretary of State, signed with Luis de Onis, Spanish Minister to the United States, an agreement known as the Treaty of Friendship, Cession of the Floridas, and Boundaries. Just exactly two years elapsed before the treaty was ratified and proclaimed. The delay was caused by Spain's fear that the United States was about to recognize the independence of the revolted Spanish American colonies. Article III of this treaty affects the Oregon case in two ways. It fixes the southern boundary of the Oregon country along the forty-second parallel of latitude and it passes to the United States a quitclaim to any title that Spain may have in lands lying north of that boundary.[10] Adams surely sensed the importance of this item at the time. It was frequently cited and urged in subsequent negotiations.

In 1821, the Czar of Russia claimed the coast of America from the frozen seas in the North to the fifty-first parallel of latitude. On 17 July, 1823, Secretary of State Adams told Baron Tuyl, Russian Minister to the United States, that the time had passed for further colonization by European powers in the lands of America. On the first Monday of the following December, President Monroe gave to Congress the famous message that embodies the Monroe Doctrine. Russia's claim to part of Oregon provoked a part of that Doctrine. Henry Middleton, United States Minister to Russia, was directed to begin negotiations which resulted in the convention as to the Pacific Ocean and Northwest Coast of America, bearing the date of 17 April, 1824. Article III of this convention fixes the northern boundary of the Oregon country at fifty-four degrees and forty

[9]Malloy: Treaties, I., 632.
[10]Malloy: Treaties, II., 1652-1653.

minutes of north latitude. At this juncture, Gallatin had returned to private life, but Clay was still Speaker of the House and Adams was Secretary of State.

When the ten-year limit of the joint occupancy feature of the Convention of 1818 was about to expire, our three diplomats were sharply confronted with the Oregon Question once more. John Quincy Adams had become President, Henry Clay was his Secretary of State, and Albert Gallatin, who had refused a cabinet position and a nomination for vice president, now consented to serve as United States Minister to Great Britain. In sending Minister Gallatin instructions under date of 19 June, 1826, Secretary of State Clay said: "You are then authorized to propose the annulment of the third article of the Convention of 1818, and the extension of the line on the parallel of 49, from the eastern side of the Stony Mountains, where it now terminates, to the Pacific Ocean, as the permanent boundary between the territories of the two powers in that quarter. This is our ultimatum, and you may so announce it."

There still were no American settlers in the region. The fixing of the boundary was apparently impossible, but Gallatin succeeded in concluding on 6 August, 1827, a convention to continue indefinitely the joint occupancy feature and providing that either side could terminate the agreement by giving the other side twelve months' notice. President Adams felt that it was a compromise, but a good one. Said he to Congress: "Our conventions with Great Britain are founded upon the principles of reciprocity."[11] In the course of the negotiations there was submitted a declaration prohibiting both sides from "exercising, or assuming to themselves the right to exercise, any exclusive sovereignty or jurisdiction over the said territory, during the continuance in force of the present convention."[12] That declartion was not made a formal part of the convention except so far as it is covered by Article III, which provides that nothing in the convention shall impair the claims of either party "to any part of the country westward of the Stoney or Rocky Mountains."[13]

Oregon was projected into the struggles of joint occupancy. It remains to follow the interest of the three diplomats. Clay could not have forgotten Oregon wholly during his campaigns for the presidency or during his great fight for the Compromise of 1850, including the free constitution of California. He did not, however, come into definite contact with the Oregon case after his term as Secretary of State. Gallatin entered permanently upon private life in 1831. For about eight years he was a

11James D. Richardson: Messages and Papers of the Presidents, II., 380.

12Public Documents, Serial No. 173; 20 Congress, 1st Session, House of Representatives, Documents 199, p. 77.

13Malloy: Treaties, I., 644.

banker and then devoted himself to literature. There is abundant evidence that he remembered Oregon. He wrote in the field of ethnology about Indians of the west and, in 1846, when Oregon was reaching toward a final struggle in diplomacy, he wrote his well known pamphlet on The Oregon Question, beginning: "I had been a pioneer in collecting facts and stating the case."[14] When he wrote that pamphlet he was eighty-five years old and within three years of his death.

Adams continued longest in the public service; indeed, his wish to die in the harness was gratified. The ex-President entered Congress in 1831 and represented the same district in the House of Representatives until his death in 1848. He knew the Oregon Question from end to end. He knew how Doctor Floyd and others had tried, in 1821, to persuade Congress to establish a settlement on the Columbia. He knew about William A. Slacum's investigation and report, in 1837, as well as the report of the Wilkes Expedition, in 1841. On returning from church on 24 July, 1842, he called on Lord Ashburton and spent an hour with him learning about the negotiations with Secretary Webster for a treaty in which, as he found, the "Oregon Territory and Columbia River question remains open."[15] The Webster-Ashburton Treaty was concluded on 9 August, 1842, but there were further negotiations, for in March, 1843, after an illness of eight days, Adams got to the State Department and had a three hours' talk with Secretary of State Daniel Webster. He was displeased. Webster seemed frank enough with him about some points, but he admitted with apparent reluctance that Great Britain would not object to the United States extending southward from th Columbia River to San Francisco, at the expense of Mexico, if Great Britain was given a free hand north of the Columbia. Remembering the Puget Sound region as a part of such a sacrifice, Adams wrote in his diary: "What an abime of duplicity!"

On 16 February, 1843, as Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, he reported unfavorably Senator Linn's bill for the occupation of Oregon Territory. For this he has been criticized, but no one knew so well as he what lay behind that Article 111 in the Convention of 1827.

After the election of 1844, with its successful battle-cry of "Fifty-four, Forty, or Fight!" Congressman Adams watched the Oregon Question closely. He got through the House a call on the President for papers in the case and his diary of 14 December, 1845, says: "My chief occupation was to read the discussion between the successive Secretaries of State, Daniel Webster, Abel P. Upshur, John C. Calhoun, and James

[14]Albert Gallatin: The Oregon Question (New York, Bartlett & Welford, 1846); reprinted by Henry Adams: Writings of Gallatin, III., 489-553.

[15]John Quincy Adams: Memoirs, XI., 219.

Buchanan, with the British Ministers Henry S. Fox and Ricard Pakenham, concerning the contest of title between the United States and Great Britain to the Oregon Territory. The most remarkable reflection to which this correspondence gives rise in my mind is that, notwithstanding the positive declaration of Mr. Polk in his inaugural speech of the unquestionable title of the United States to the whole Oregon country to latitude 54,40, notwithstanding a repetition of the same declaration in his recent message to Congress, and notwithstanding the constant professed inflexibility of his official newspaper in support of this claim, he has actually repeated the offer heretofore made by Mr. Monroe, and repeated by me, of continuing the boundary-line between the British possessions and the United States in the latitude of 49 from the Mississippi to the Pacific Ocean, and that it has again been rejected by Great Britain."[16] He was of opinion that the offer ought not to be repeated or accepted if made by Great Britain, but he felt that Mr. Polk "will finish by accepting it."

He was right, Mr. Polk did accept it. The treaty was concluded on 15 June, 1846, and it is a great blessing that the end came through diplomacy without an appeal to arms. Few realized at the time how close we had come to war. The cry of "Fifty-four, Forty, or Fight!" was looked upon as mainly bluster for campaign purposes. But what of the other side? Within the last five years were published for the first time the Warre and Vavasour papers,[17] by which it is revealed that the British Government had sent the two secret agents into the Oregon country and they had shown how feasible would have been a war of conquest in that region. Instead of war, Great Britain renewed the offer of the forty-ninth parallel as a compromise boundary and it was accepted.

Each of our three diplomats lived beyond the Biblical allotment of years. Adams died in 1848 at eighty-one years of age, Gallatin in 1849 at eighty-eight, and Clay in 1852 at seventy-five. Grand old men, all of them! The public annals of their day are shot through and through with the records of their thoughts and deeds. Inadequate collections of their works have been saved, the greatest of which is the monumental diary of John Quincy Adams. He, himself, has written of that diary: "There has perhaps not been another individual of the human race, of whose daily existence from early childhood to fourscore years has been noted down with his own hand so minutely as mine."[18]

It has not been possible to search every document for this occasion, but enough has been gleaned to show something of the debt of gratitude

[16]John Quincy Adams: Memoirs, XII., 220-221.

[17]The Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society, X., 1-99 (March, 1909); also the Washington Historical Quarterly, III., 131-153 (April, 1912).

[18]John Quincy Adams: Memoirs, XII., 276-277. (31 October, 1846.)

which the Oregon country owes to the diplomatic triumphs achieved by the brains and hands of these three great men.

When the century of peace shall be rounded out on next Christmas eve, it would be well to send to Quincy, Lexington, and Trinity churchyard in New York wreaths of evergreens from the Oregon hills,—memorial tributes to Adams, Clay and Gallatin.

EDMOND S. MEANY.

DOCUMENTS

A New Vancouver Journal

Taking up the Journal from where it left off in the April Quarterly we find the party approaching Restoration Point, opposite the present city of Seattle. The record here given is much briefer than in Vancouver's own official Journal, but it should prove of interest in spite of that fact. It retells the discovery of this region in the style of a mariner. In years to come this brief record is sure to be preserved by the side of the larger official record. EDMOND S. MEANY.

THE JOURNAL

(Continued from page 137, April Quarterly.)

We were detained by the Tides, which were rapid, from joining the Discovery before the 26th when we found her at anchor off a Point of a small opening called by Captn: Vancouver Restoration Point.[15] Here there was a small village, containing, I shou'd suppose, about 60 or 70 Inhabitants.[16] It was situated on a fine rising ground, and the Country round it was extremely pleasant to appearance and clear. The Natives had brought a good supply of Venison to the Discovery. Two of her boats with Lt: Paget & Mr Whidby were now absent on a surveying expedition up the continuation of this & the Arms round us, and the morning after our arrival Captn; Vancouver with Mr Johnstone set out with two Boats on another expedition. Though I have but just before mentioned that I conceived the Natives hereabouts had but little intercourse with Europeans, we had here a proof that they were not entirely unaccustomed to Trading Vessels for two very good Sea Otter Skins were brought off for sale, and the price was copper. However they took so reasonable a price, and their having no more than these two skins among them makes me think that the knowledge they have of Trading Ships is acquir'd by their own commerce with Tribes between them and the Sea.

On the 27th at night Mr Whidby & Lt. Paget return'd from their cruize having closed up the Arms.[17] In one place they met with a consid-

15Opposite the present City of Seattle and near the entrance to Port Blakeley.

16Chief Seattle, then a boy of about six years, was undoubtedly with the natives mentioned.

17When Captain Vancouver rejoined the party he reviewed the work of his lieutenants and wrote upon his chart in honor of the quality of that work the well known name of "Puget's Sound." Puget had gone on one side and he, himself, had gone on another side of a large body of land which he called Vashon Island, in honor of Captain James Vashon of the British navy.

erable tribe of Indians from whom he had nearly met with some trouble, but by early good management nothing material happened. After being very well treated by the Boats party the Natives seized the opportunity of their stopping at a Beach to Dinner, to attack them. They were observed to string their Bows & sling their Quivers and were making for the Wood behind the party at Dinner from whence it was no doubt their intention to fire on them but as this was observ'd Mr Menzies & Mr Manby catching up their Muskets ran up and drove them back to their Canoes. As there were some opening to look into the Northd. we weigh'd anchor and quitted this place the next day the 28th and as Mr Johnstone was still absent in our Cutter with Captn: Vancouver we took Mr Whidby and the Discovery's Launch with us to carry on the survey and when we came abreast of the opening she was dispatched along with our Launch in which went Ltd: Hanson with a week's provisions. In the meantime we anchored off a place called Rose Point from the numeruos trees of that name that were on the low ground; besides this there were plenty of currant, Gooseberry, & Raspberry bushes, and large beds of Strawberries but very little if any of these Fruits were yet ripe.

June. On the 30th we were join'd by the Discovery and we proceeded with her on the further examination of this tedious Inland Navigation. Nothing remarkable occurred till the 2nd of June when sailing up a place called Port Gardner in Possession Sound, by the negligance of the man in the chains about one o'clock in the afternoon we run aground upon a Muddy Bank. We immediately gave the Discovery the alarm and at the same time made the Signal for assistance. She was astern of us and directly anchor'd and dispatched her Boats to our relief. On sounding astern of the Ship it was found that we had run a considerable distance over a Shoal and before we could carry an anchor our into water sufficiently deep we veer'd away four Hawsers on end. At Highwater we hove off without any damage whatever and brought up in 9 fam. water. As we found this place like all the others shut up, we weigh'd the next morning and sail'd out of the Port and the following day anchor'd in a Bay to wait the return of Lt Hanson & Mr Whidby and to celebrate His Majesty's Birthday. The Boats return'd on the 4th and on that day possession was taken on shore[18] by Captn: Vancouver in His Majesty's name of all the Land in the Streights, and the part in which we now were call'd Gulph of Georgia. On this occasion the Discovery fired 21 guns on the Flag of possession being hoisted and as the King's Birth Day the Ship's Companies were served double allowance of Grog to drink his health.

There was in this Bay a fine Sandy Beach where the Seine was

[18]On that shore there now stands the beautiful and prosperous City of Everett.

haul'd with pretty good success. We saw no Village nor Inhabitants near this place but on the point of the beach there stood a remarkable high pole, strongly supported by props at the Bottom, and at the top of it was fixed a human skull. What the reason of so curious a thing could be no one could divine. Many such had been seen in different parts of the Inland Navigation and in Mr Hanson's late cruize. No less than three of these Poles with skulls on them were seen at one place contiguous to which was a very large burying Ground. Some bodies were wrapp'd up in Mats & Skins and laid in canoes, whilst some that appear'd but recently dead were thrown into a deep hole in the earth and not covered.

On the 5th we left this Bay and proceeded on our exploration, crossing over to the opening out of which we came the 23rd of May, having to that place carried the Continent. We found Tides here extremely rapid and on the 9th in endeavouring to get round a point to a Bay in which the Discovery had anchor'd, we were swept to Leeward of it with great impetuosity. We therefore let go the Stream anchor in 28 fathoms water but in bringing up, such was the force of the Tide that we parted the Cable. We immediately let go the Bower with which we brought up. On trying the Tide we found it running at the rate of 5½ miles an hour. At slack water we swept for the anchor but could not get it, after several fruitless attempts to get it we were at last obliged to leave it and join the Discovery in Strawberry Bay. This Bay obtain'd its name from a tolerable quantity of Strawberries we found there. As the Discovery had only been waiting for us here we left it the follwoing day and steered for a very extensive opening trending about N. and came to an anchor in a very pleasant Bay which was called Birch Bay.[19] From this place two Boat expeditions were undertaken one by Captain Vancouver and the other by Mr Whidby. In the meantime the Observatory was set up for the purpose of regulating the watches and Spruce Beer brew'd for the Ships Companies. Our operations on shore were carried on in a very convenient place there being a fine Grass plot of nearly a mile in length with a fine fresh water River at the back of it. Captn: Vancouver set out with his two Boats and 10 days provisions on the 12th to the Westward and Mr Whidby with two Boats and a weeks provisions towards an opening to the Eastward of us. The same Evening we were surprized to see Mr Whidby's Boats return but much more so when we learnt from them that they had seen two Vessels, a Brig and a Schooner coming down the Arm which lay round the point of the Bay. It was immediately conjectured from the improbability of trading vessels being in this inhospitable part of the Coast and the distance from the entrance

[19]Just south of Semiahmoo Bay on which stands the City of Blaine.

of the Streights that they were foreign Vessels employed on the same service as ourselves and which conjecture we afterwards found to be right. A lookout for them was kept during the night and nothing been seen of them. In the morning a boat was dispatched to the Entrance of the arm but she returned without seeing them. It was thought they had pass'd during the night. Mr Broughton therefore got under weigh in the Chatham and the boats were redispatched on their examination. Whilst the Chatham was getting under way the Vessels were observed by the help of the Glasses a considerable way to the Westward of us so that they must have pass'd in the night.

We soon came up with them and they hoisted Spanish Colours. A Boat with an officer was sent on board the Brig where he was very politely received by the Commander. They proved to be His Catholic Majesty's Brig Soutile commanded by Don Dionisio Galiano and the Schooner Mexicana, Don Cayetano Valdez, Commander; both Captains of Frigates in the Royal Navy of Spain and employed in surveying these Streights to complete the parts left unfinished by Seigr. Malespini with whom these two gentlemen had been Lieutenants. They left Nootka late in May where there were at that time lying 3 Frigates and a Spanish Brig of War, Don Quadra, Commodore.

Don Galiano offered us every information & civility in his power and sent on board some milk & cabbages that he had brought from Nootka. The Vessels were very small, the Brig not being more than 45 tons Burthen. They had each a Lieutenant, a Pilot, and twenty men and carried two Brass Guns each. After receiving the necessary information we parted from them and made for our old anchorage, whilst they continued their route to the Westd. From this time to the 23rd we were employed in taking the necessary observations for determining the rates of the watches, and in other ways and Mr Whidby's party having returned after an absence of six days, closing the places up which he went to explore. We cut here some remarkably fine Plank, of the Pine tree, and there was a good deal of Alder & Birch here. We had had tolerable good luck with the Seine, the Bay affording plenty of Flat fish, some Salmon Trout and a small kind of Bream and we now and then shot some Ducks. Though there was no village near us and we were but very seldom visited by canoes, Mr Whidby in his last Cruize,[20] at no great distance from the Ships, met with a numerous Tribe of Indians, not less than 300, that were just shifting their Village. They had very little connexion with them as the Indians shew'd no desire for their landing near them. On the 23rd Captn:

[20]During this cruise Whidbey had found a narrow passage connecting with Port Gardner. Vancouver called it Deception Pass and he gave Whidbey's name to the large island thus made known.

Voncouver returned after an absence of twelve days; he had met with the two Spanish Vessels and been on board them and now was by agreement going to join them as our destination was much the same as theirs and as we shou'd be obliged to visit at the place to which Captn: Vancouver had carried the Continent during a further expedition of the Boats[21] we shou'd have an opportunity of being sociable.

On the 24th we quitted the Bay which is in the Lat: of 48.53.30 N and the Long: 237.32 Et. and stood to the Westward. About Noon we came up with the Spanish Vessels with whom we kept company till the 26th when we came to the situation from whence our next surveying cruize was to commence, and late at night the whole Squadron anchored, in a place which from its unenviting shore and the few refreshments beyond water which it produced was call'd by us Desolation Reach, its Lat: is 50.11 N and Longe: 235.27 Et.

In this dreary place (the first place that deserves that name that we had been since we entered De Fuca's Streights) we lay about three weeks in the course of which time no less than three Boat expeditions were undertaken from us and two by the Spaniards. In the last of ours by Mr Johnstone a passage to sea was discover'd by an extensive Arm that led into Queen Charlotte's Sound and to which the continent had been carried. Mr Johnstone's situation in this Arm of the Sound was once or twice rather critical, for coming into it unexpectedly he was surprised to find himself among several villages, populously inhabited and well arm'd with Musquets, and they had endeavoured to decoy him to a place where he observed, as he proceeded on, several large canoes well mann'd, he however did not go near them, and prevented them from following him.

July. On the 13th of July we took our leave of the Spaniards and made the best of our way to where Mr Johnstone left off, and on the 17th entered the Arm which is called in Captn: Vancouver's chart Johnstone's Arm. When we got near the Villages, which chiefly lye on the Southern Shore several canoes came off with Otter Skins to sell. Their demand was here as at Cape Classett-Copper or Blue Cloth, Musquets and Powder. Several of the Indians were habited in European Cloathes on most of which was a profusion of Metal Buttons, and of Musquets, there was scarce a canoe that we saw that had not two or 3 in it, and in excellent order. On the 18th by desire of Captn: Vancouver we parted from the Discovery to look into an Arm to the Northwd. This opening led us into many small arms & Branches among a cluster of Islands that ended

[21]Vancouver's boat expedition had traversed much of the waterway between Vancouver Island and the mainland. The Spaniards reported the probability of a large river. Vancouver declared it impossible. Later the Fraser River was discovered from the land side and traced to its mouth where the Spaniards had thought it to be.

all in Low Land. One of these Arms, and the most extensive, Mr Broughton called Knight's Canal, and the whole was named by Captn: Vancouver, Broughton's Archipelago.[22] In this business we were employed upwards of a week. We met with but few Indians (the populous part of this Sound being the So. side) they had all of them skins and for the first time we got from them plenty of excellent Salmon. On the 29th we again join'd the Discovery, she had since we left her, been at anchor off a very large Village call'd by the natives Whanneck, the chief's name was Cathlaginness, it was numerously inhabited but they were subject to Maquinna the chief of Nootka Sound; they as well as all the people we had seen since entering the Sound spoke the Nootka Language. Thus far and no further North does that Language extend and its limits to the Southwd. is about Cape Classett. At this Village were a great number of Sea Otter skins, and not less than two hundred was purchased on board the Discovery, chiefly for old Cloathes and some Copper.

As it is impossible to point out the boundaries of Defuca's Streights I have carried on that name till we came into a place to which we know there is a name and as all our examination continued Inland in Arms & Branches of the Sea I have now begun to entitle this "The Inland Navigation on the N. We. Coast of America."

August. We continued our survey of the Continent in the usual way without any material circumstance happening till the 7th of August, being still in the Sound, when the Discovery got aground on a ledge of sunken rocks, we immediately brought up as near to her as we could with safety, and sent the boats immediately to her assistance. The Tide unfortunately was ebbing so that nothing could be done till High Water, when she was hove off with out receiving any apparent damage, for while she lay on the rocks the water was very smooth and she did not thump. We continued our course to the Nd. The very next evening, having but little wind and a strong Ebb tide running we were hustled upon some Rocks and stuck fast. The Discovery was ahead of us and on our making the Signal of Distress sent her Boats to our assistance. At High water we hove off but we had every reason to suppose that her Copper (at least) must have been much rubb'd, from her striking on the Rocks, as there was a good deal of swell, and indeed when we came to lay her ashore at Nootka, we had we found been right in our conjecture for besides the Copper being much rubb'd her Gripe and part of her false keel were carried away.

On the 11th we came to an anchor in Port Safety in Calvert's Island and the following day dispatched two Boat expeditions, one to the S. & E.

22William Robert Broughton was associated with Vancouver as commander of the armed tender Chatham on which consort this journal written.

to some opening we had pass'd and the other to the Nd. Here we endeavoured to lay the Chatham ashore, for to look at her bottom, but after frequent trials we found the Tide did not rise sufficiently. The Seine was haul'd here with very great success, the first haul we took 120 large Salmon. The weather that we hitherto enjoyed since entering the Streights of Defuca was remarkably fine having had in all that time not a weeks bad weather but now the scene was changed and we had nothing in this port but heavy rain & gloomy weather. On the 17th a Brig entered the Harbour who shew'd English Colours. An officer was immediately dispatched on board her. On his return we learn'd the Vessel's name was the Venus, commanded by a Mr Shepherd from Bengal, on a trading voyage to this Coast for skins, after she came to an anchor the Master of her waited on Captn: Vancouver with his papers and brought the agreeable news of our Storeship's being at Nootka waiting for us. He delivered Captn: Vancouver a letter from the Master of her, which had been given him in case of his falling in with us. This letter merely said that they had been lying at Nootka ever since the beginning of July and had heard of our being on the Coast from Mr Grey Master of the Columbia whom we had spoke the day we entered Defuca Streights. The news of her arrival threw everybody in high spirits which however was soon damp'd and in no small degree by hearing the remaining part of the letter, which mention'd that the King's Agent of the Transport, Lieut. Hergest, and the Astronomer that was sent out in her to the Discovery had been unfortunately murdered by the Natives of Woahoo (one if the Sandwich Islands). The Spanish Commandant, Don Quadra, Mr Shepherd inform'd us was anxiously looking out for us as he had been sent there for the purpose of giving up the Port to us.

These circumstances, together with the unfavorable weather that still continued and which we imagin'd was the commencement of the bad season, induced Captn: Vancouver to alter his intentions and he now determined on giving up any further examination this year and to make the best of his way to Nootka. The 18th we all left the Port, the Venus standing to the S. E. whilst we proceeded to sea round the N. side of Calvert's Isld: the Boats having joined us after their examination about Noon. They had carried the continent up an extensive arm to a place called by Captn. V. Cape Menzies, in the Lat: 52.19 N. & Long: 232.57 Et. they were obliged to return their provisions being out but the arm seemed to run a considerable distance beyond where they left off. Our Lat: at Noon was 51.57.

We had now spent three months and a half in exploring an Inland Navigation between the Lats: 48.23 N & 52.19 N. and the Long:

235.38 & 232.57 E. having kept the continental shore on board ever since our entering the Streights of Defuca. The most Southern situation that we were in, in the Streights was in the Lat: 47.3 N call'd Paget's Sound and our most Eastern situation 238.2 E. long.

The Land in the Southernmost parts of these Streights was in several places exceedingly pleasant, there were many extensive plains where the soil was extremely rich and the verdure luxurious. Gooseberrys, Currants, Raspberrys & Strawberrys were to be found in many places, and at the most of them, the Raspberrys & Strawberries were well tasted. Onions were to be got almost everywhere, as was also Samphire and a plant call'd by the Sailors Fat-hen, both of which when boil'd eat remarkably well, the former being not unlike French Beans and the latter but little inferior to Spinach.

In the Northern parts two kinds of what is call'd Huckle-berrys, Red & Black, were found; these were excellent in Pies.

The Trees were of all kinds, Oak, Ash, Elm, Alder, Pine, Birch & Cedar. Of Oak & Cedar we did not see so much as of any of the other kinds, but as to the Pine Tree, the whole Coast is a Forest of it[23] and of it and the Oak we saw trees of an immense size and calculated for any uses.

For such an extent as we travers'd over in Defuca and in so grateful a part of America, from what we saw, it cannot be said to be very populous, & tho' there were few that had not some European ornaments, Metals &c., about them, yet there were the most considerable number of them that I shou'd suppose never saw a Ship before. The European articles they possess being got I suppose by bartering with one another between them and the Sea Coast. They appeared in general very quiet people and the only weapons I ever saw among them were Bows & Arrows & some few knives (but I shall have occasion to mention some accounts of the Natives in general before I leave the Coast).

The Skins they had about them and what they brought to sell were all of Land animals, Moose, Deer, Bear, Fox, Raccoon, Wild Cat, Martin, Land Otter, Weazel, Rabbit &c. but no Sea Otters, these animals never being found so far inland.

After we got to Sea we were harrassed with a foul wind from the S. E. attended with Rain & Haze till the 25th (7 days) when at last we had the wind from the pleasant quarter N. W. and pass'd to the Westward of Scott's Islands, but what with calms and more foul winds it was not till the 28th that we came in sight of Nootka Sound.

[23]Reference is here made to the red fir, which has been called by many names from the first time the trees were seen to the present time.

Transactions in Nootka Sound

On the 28th about 11 o'clock in the forenoon we enter'd the Sound with a fair fresh Breeze, but so very foggy that we had lost sight of the Discovery, nor did we see her when the Fog cleared away which was about Noon.

As we approach'd the Cove we observed a Boat coming out to us with the Spanish Colours flying, she came on board us, and proved to be the Guard Boat. The Officer in her, on hearing who we were, and that we were come out in company with the Discovery to receive this place of them, discovered much satisfaction and the people in the Boat were ready to leap overboard for joy, for it seems we were so long expected that they had now given up all hopes of seeing us at all this season.

We found lying in Friendly Cove His Catholick Mjs. Brig. Activa of twelve guns wearing Seigr. Quadra's Broad Pendant, the Doedalus Transport, with Stores and Provisions for us; and the Three Bs, a Brig commanded by a Mr Alder, on the Fur Trade from New Castle. The Discovery was not here. Seigr. Quadra sent off an invitation to Captn. Broughton to dine ashore which was accepted, and after the usual ceremonies of demandg: gun for gun we saluted the Fort with 13 guns which were returned with an equal number from the Activa. The Master of the Storeship, Mr New, waited on Captn. B. and brought some Packets of Letters for us from our friends in England.

About 4 o'clock the Discovery hove in sight and shortly after enter'd the Cove and took her berth close to us. She likewise saluted the Fort with 13 Guns, which was returned and in the evening Captn. Vancouver waited on Seigr. Quadra ashore.

The next day (the 29th) Seigr. Quadra gave a grand dinner at his house on shore to the two Commanders and their officers. After the dinner was over (which by the bye was given in a style but little expected in such a place as Nootka) Seigr. Quadra gave the Healths of the Sovereigns of England & Spain accompanied by 21 guns fired from his Brig and also Captn. Vancouver's health with 13 guns.

In the evening the Governor sent a couple of fine sheep with a large stock of Cabbages &c. on board each of the vessels and also a cask of Rum to the Ship's Company. The live stock on shore belonging to the Governor consisted of tbout ten head of cattle, some sheep & goats, Pigs, and Poultry of all kinds. Their stock, we were informed, had been much larger, but expecting that we should have been much earlier with them they had been very liberal with it and as it was supposed that on receiving the Port one of our vessels would stay here the remainder of the stock was intended to be left with us. There were besides several large

gardens well stocked with vegetables of all kinds. All the Vessels in the Cove were regularly supplied with Hot Rolls, Milk & Vegetables every morning—such was the Hospitable and friendly attention of Seigr. Quadra.

Except the Governor's House,[24] which is large, and built of wood and has a second floor, there are none other except some sheds for Artificers and two or three storehouses. In one of these was now living a Mr Magee, Master of the Margaret, Merchant ship of Boston. She was now trading to the N. for Furs but had left Mr Magee here on account of ill health, his Surgeon and a gentleman of the name of Howell (a passenger) was residing on shore with him. But before we were here long we found that ill-health was not Mr Magee's only motive for remaining on shore here, for he was carrying on a most profitable trade with the Spaniards & Seamen in Spirituous Liquors, generously charging only four Dollars a gallon for Yankee Rum that cost him most probably about 2/-- or half a crown per gallon. Indeed the ill effects of this shameful trade was soon too great to pass without taking notice of it, and endeavouring to put a stop to it. Our Seamen were continually drunk which from the badness of the liquor threw them into fits of sickness; and Captn. Vancouver was at last oblig'd to take measures that prevented any further trade of that nature with our people.

On the Fort which is at the S. pt: of entrance of Friendly Cove there were now but two guns mounted; there had been 18 but the Frigate which had sailed for San Blas about a month before had taken the remainder of the guns with her.

As we expected to remain here some time the Tents & observatory were taken ashore and set up in an advantageous spot behind the Governor's house in a garden fronting the entrance of the Sound. The new observatory with the circular instrument, Astronomical Clock, three Timekeepers & the other Astronomical Instruments that were sent out by the Board of Longitude with the unfortunate Astronomer Mr Gooch were also sent on shore here. We now heard the particulars of the two unfortunate gentlemen, Lieut. Hergest the Agent, and Mr Gooch and the poor seaman who were cut off by the Natives of Woahoo, one of the Sandwich Islands.

(Description of the massacre of these men is omitted as of no interest for the present purpose. A. H. T.)

(To be continued.)

[24]From sketches published by Vancouver, the present editor was able to locate the site of this house or fort in 1903 and several fragments of Spanish tile-like bricks were found where the foundation corners had rested.

BOOK REVIEWS

THE INDIAN HISTORY OF THE MODOC WAR AND THE CAUSES THAT LED TO IT. By Jeff C. Riddle, the Son of Winema, the Heroine of the Modoc War. (Klamath Falls, Oregon, D. L. Moses, 1914. Pp. 295. $2.74.)

At the time of the advent of the white man, the Klamath Lake country, an elevated plateau in southeastern Oregon interspersed with numerous lakes and extending across the boundary into California, was occupied by a number of bands of Indians commonly regarded as being of a single stock, but having little intercourse with one another and that not always friendly. But one characteristic they had in common, the suspicion and dislike of the white man and the pertinacity and fierceness with which they resisted his attempts to occupy their country. When Ewing Young and his party, as early as 1837, brought the first herd of cattle from California to Oregon, he was attacked by Indians in this region, and from that time forward hardly a year passed without depredations on one side or the other, until the close of the Modoc war in 1873. The Indian who felt himself wronged by a white man revenged himself according to Indian custom upon the first white man that fell in his way. In like manner, if a white man was robbed or murdered, his associates or neighbors were but too apt to avenge him by attacking the first party of Indians they might encounter. It thus happened that oftener than otherwise the punishment for undoubted outrages fell upon those who were entirely guiltless, and in this way, too, every act of aggression became the source of an additional feud. The usual consequences followed, of constantly increasing bitterness between the races, and of reprisals that were simply ferocious in their cruelty. Nor were these by any means confined to the side of the Indians.

One of the smallest of the bands inhabiting the region mentioned was the Modocs, who dwelt along the shores of Rhett Lake, better known locally as Tule Lake, on both sides of the boundary between Oregon and California. There were different bands of these, under different chiefs, but we are here more particularly concerned with what is known as Capt. Jack's band. These were even more turbulent and warlike than the neighboring tribes, and from the earliest appearance of the whites in that region had been in frequent collision with them.

The government, in the beginning of 1870, succeeded in getting

them to settle on a part of the reservation which was assigned to them with the consent of the Klamaths, but they got along no better with the Klamaths than with the whites, though it appears quite certain that the fault was altogether with the latter Indians.

Various attempts were made to compose their troubles without success, and the Modocs after a short time abandoned the reservation and returned to their former home. The authorities ignored this action until, about two years later, complaints began to be made by the white settlers that the Indians had become menacing and were committing frequent depredations. These complaints resulted in an order from the head of the Indian department in September, 1872, to the Superintendent of Indian Affairs in Oregon, to return the Modocs to the reservation "peaceably if you can, forcibly if you must." The Indians, on being informed of the order, flatly refused compliance. Thereupon Mr. Odeneal, the Superintendent of Indians Affairs, applied to the military authorities in command at Fort Klamath, to compel obedience. Maj. Jackson with a detachment of some thirty-five men marched to Captain Jack's camp and after a parley asked the Indians to lay down their arms. The Indians, on Capt. Jack's advice and following his example, were doing so when an affray arose between Lieut. Boutelle and the Indian known as Scar-face Charley, who each at the same moment fired at the other. A general fight ensued, in which some twenty whites, soldiers and citizens, were killed or wounded, but, as is claimed, no Indians except a squaw and her baby.

Lying around the southern end of Tule Lake is a region known as the "Lava Beds," a vast field of congealed lava intersected in every direction with a labyrinth of fissures and caves and abrupt walls of rock. The place is a natural fastness of such extraordinary defensive strength that a handful of resolute men could hold it against an army so long as provisions and ammunition held out. To this place the Indians fled, numbering, with those who afterwards joined them of fifty-three men with their families. And here took place during the next year the most remarkable defense of which the annals of Indian warfare afford any account, and the most unparalleled act of treachery, the murder of Gen. Canby and Dr. Thomas, and the attempted murder of Mr. Meacham and Mr. Dyer, who as commissioners had met the Indians under a flag of truce to negotiate a treaty of peace.

The volume before us is a narrative of the events of this war and a sketch of the history of the tribe during the preceding quarter of a century. The author is the son of a Modoc mother and a white father. His father and mother acted as interpreters in the negotiations between

the Indians and the peace commissioners, and had and deserved the confidence of the best informed on both sides. The mother was a woman of remarkable character, and is in fact the most heroic Indian figure of the Modoc war. With such an ancestry it is not surprising that the author should exhibit strong sympathy for the Indians. In fact, he avows as a reason for his book that "the Indian side has never been given to the public yet." To the credit of his fairness it must be said that his account of actual occurrences is hardly more favorable to the Indians than that of others who witnessed and have written of them. If fault can be found anywhere it is in an occasional lack of details where details would lend a darker color to the facts given.

The author modestly says of himself and his book:

"I have one drawback, I have no education, but I have tried to write as plain as I could. I use no fine language in my writing, for I lack education."

The book itself fully sustains this statement. But at times the very lack of art and skill betrayed lends a certain pathos to the story. The volume can hardly be called a valuable contribution to the history of the war. Its chief interest will be to the pioneer of the locality who will turn to it as he would to a newspaper of the time, or an old letter written from the midst of the scenes it describes, and thus live over again the scenes of this stirring period. JULIUS A. STRATTON.

TEN THOUSAND MILES WITH A DOG SLED. By Hudson Stuck, D. D., F. R. G. S., Archdeacon of the Yukon. (N. Y., Charles Scribner's Sons, 1914. $3.50.)

This is a most interesting narrative of winter journeys with dog team into many remote corners of the Yukon basin in Alaska from 1905 to 1913, connected primarily with the administration of the extensive mission work of the Episcopal church among the natives of interior Alaska.

It is the work of a man of trained mind who describes clearly and entertainingly his own experiences from day to day in traveling through drifting snow, over frozen rivers and lakes and across mountain ranges, in temperatures as low as 70 degrees below zero, making camps in the open plains, on mountain sides, in log huts, and with Esquimos in their igloos, and cooking his meals for himself and his helpers, and for his dogs as well, under all the trying conditions of a subarctic climate in midwinter. Thousands of Alaskans go through similar experiences every winter, but few have the ability to tell their experiences so clearly and faithfully as Archdeacon Stuck has done.

The special value of this work, aside from its popular interest as a narrative of winter travels in the interior of a new territory about to be opened to development by the building of government railroads, is threefold:

First—He calls attention very forcefully to the bad effects on the natives of contact with a class of whites whom he calls "the low down whites." He compares the good results of the mission work in settlements remote from army posts and saloons, and the discouraging results of the same kind of work in settlements where the natives are preyed upon by immoral whites with bad whiskey as their principal agency. He does not overdraw the facts. His words burn, but they are true.

Second—He shows, from familiarity with the native languages, that the Indians of the upper Yukon valley, above the mouth of the Tanana, and of the entire Tanana valley, are Athabascans, speaking the same language and having the same traditions as the Indians of the Mackenzie river, while the Indians of the lower Yukon as far as Nulato, and of the upper Kuskokwim, are of a wholly different primal stock, speaking a language in no way related to that of the Athabascans. The Eskimos along the coast, in the interior, and in the lower Kuskokwim, he describes as all of one race with the Eskimos of the Arctic ocean clear to the east of Greenland. He speaks highly of the Eskimos, describing them as superior in character and in possibilities of mental development to any of the tribes of American Indians.

Third—The different breeds of dogs, so invaluable to Alaska as the universal friend and helper of prospectors and travelers in every part of the territory, are described in a manner that will help to clear up many of the long standing myths among Alaskans as to the origin of the "Malamute," the "Huskie," and the "Siwash." The "Malamute," he shows, is the typical Eskimo dog, the same in Alaska as in northern Labrador and in Greenland. The "Huskie" is not a cross with a wolf, he avers, contrary to the belief of many Alaskans, but was originally a cross between hardy dogs like the Scotch collie and others with the Malamute itself. The "Siwash" is simply one of the many kinds of native Indian dogs, pure or mixed with other stocks.

It would have been better for Archdeacon Stuck if he had stopped with telling what he knows from long experience among the natives, and had not devoted a chapter in opposition to the building of government railroads in Alaska. Here he prognosticates. He urges the building of a system of wagon roads instead, which, in this twentieth century, is strange advice from a man of his keen powers of observation in other respects. Of course, not ten men in all Alaska will agree with him on this point.

His argument against railroads in Alaska is the same as that advanced for many years by the big trading companies, which desire above all things to prevent Alaskan development for their own good.

In dealing with the agricultural possibilities, which he minimizes, he omits mention altogether of the great Susitna valley, which all Alaskans know to be the best in Alaska from an agricultural standpoint.

It is very clear that Archdeacon Stuck is not an authority on agriculture in any of its branches, and that he never lived a day on a farm.

Aside from his opposition to government railroads in Alaska and his doubts as to agricultural possibilities there, on which subjects a minister of the gospel is not necessarily good authority, his book is one of the best of the many recent popular works on Alaska.

JOHN E. BALLAINE.

THE COMING HAWAII. By Joseph King Goodrich. (Chicago, McClurg, 1914. Pp. 329. $1.50.)

Like the author's earlier books on China, Mexico and Canada, The Coming Hawaii is based partly on the writer's own experience and partly on other authorities, which he cites in footnotes throughout the book. Like his earlier works, also, it is written in a popular style and is intended for the reader whose interest in Hawaii is a general one.

Mr. Goodrich made his first visit to Hawaii in 1866. A second and longer one was made after the government there had become republican. His residence in Japan as professor in the Imperial Government College at Kyoto has enabled him to speak authoritatively on the attitude of that country toward Hawaii.

In The Coming Hawaii, Mr. Goodrich sketches the history of the islands, surveys present conditions and considers the relation of Hawaii, in the future, to other countries.

The historical outline includes some notice of the myths and legends which are interwoven with the early history of the Hawaiians, the rule of native monarchs, the transition to American control, and the present administration of the islands by the United States.

The discussion of present conditions is sufficiently broad in its scope as to include almost everything of general interest. Among the subjects presented are the origin of the Hawaiian race, the Hawaiians as laborers, native arts, manners and customs, social life, natural resources, volcanoes, the missionary movement, literature, and immigration.

A most interesting chapter is the one on Agriculture in the Islands. Mr. Goodrich commends the government for the interest it has taken in

this pursuit, as shown by valuable experiments with soils and crops, and by its efforts to induce a desirable farming class to settle in the islands. He believes that upon the development of its agriculture, more than upon anything else, depends the economic future of Hawaii. It is of special interest to us that Hawaii turns to the United States, particularly to the Pacific states, to find a market for her products.

In considering the future of the Islands, Mr. Goodrich does not overlook the opportunities they offer all for pleasure, to which the scenery, the equable climate and the fine beaches, especially, contribute.

The reader's enjoyment of the book is increased by the rproductions of attractive photographs. It contains also a good bibliography and an index. MARY HUBBARD.

TRAVEL AND DESCRIPTION, 1765-1865; TOGETHER WITH A LIST OF COUNTY HISTORIES, ATLASES, AND BIOGRAPHICAL COLLECTIONS AND A LIST OF TERRITORIAL AND STATE LAWS. By Solon J. Buck. (Springfield, Ill. Illinois State Historical Library, 1914. Pp. 514.)

This book, published as volume nine of the Illinois Historical Collections, is a product of the Historical Survey conducted by the University of Illinois. It forms the first part of a comprehensive bibliography of Illinois history, which is being prepared by Solon J. Buck. An attempt is here made to list all works of travel covering any part of the territory of Illinois during the period 1765-1865. Full items of imprint and collation are given, followed by annotations and references to notices and reviews. Such a thoroughgoing piece of bibliography covering description and travel in America becomes of general interest to all students of the Western Movement.

GUIDE TO THE MATERIALS IN LONDON ARCHIVES FOR THE HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES SINCE 1783. By Charles O. Paullin and Frederic L. Paxson. (Washington, Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1914. Pp. 642.)

This is the third volume to be issued by the Department of Historical Research of the Carnegie Institution of Washington in the series of Guides relating to the London Archives. The two previous volumes relate to the History of the United States preceding 1783. The present volume covers the period from 1783 to 1860. It therefore becomes of great interest and value to students of Pacific Northwest History from the

time of the Nootka Sound Embroglio to the Acquisition of the Oregon Territory. A glance at the index reveals more than sixty references to Oregon with nearly as many to the Hudson's Bay Company and a goodly number to Washington Territory.

ANNUAL PUBLICATION OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA, 1912-1913. (Los Angeles, J. B. Walters, 1914. Pp. 158.)

This volume marks the thirtieth anniversary of the organization of the Historical Society of Southern California. In addition to articles of direct bearing upon the local field are several papers of a more general interest. Among the latter may be noted: "Events leading to the Chinese exclusion act"; "Drake on the Pacific Coast"; and "Anti-Japanese legislation in California."

Other Books Received

CHICAGO HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Annual Report, 1913. (Chicago, The Society, 1914. Pp. 173.)

DOUGHTY, ARTHUR G., and MCARTHUR, DUNCAN A. Documents Relating to the Constitutional History of Canada, 1791-1818. (Ottawa, Government, 1914.. Pp. 576.)

FAXON, FREDERICK W., *editor*. Annual magazine subject-index, 1913. (Boston, Boston Book Company, 1914. Pp. 278.)

MICHIGAN HISTORICAL COMMISSION. First Annual Report, 1913. (Lansing, Public Printer, 1914. Pp. 63.)

NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL COMMISSION. North Carolina Manual, 1913. (Raleigh, Public Printer, 1913. Pp. 1053.)

PENNSYLVANIA SOCIETY. Yearbook, 1914. (New York, The Pennsylvania Society, 1914. Pp. 256.)

TREXLER, HARRISON A. Slavery in Missouri, 1804-1865. (Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press, 1914. Pp. 259.)

NEWS DEPARTMENT

Professor Turner in the Northwest

All those in the Pacific Northwest who are interested in history have received inspiration and uplift by the presence and work of Professor Frederick Jackson Turner, formerly of the University of Wisconsin and now of the faculty of Harvard University. He gave the Commencement address at the University of Washington and continued at work there with two courses of lectures during the first half of the Eleventh Summer Session. He will later serve the University of Oregon in a like capacity at the Summer Session of that institution. Professor Turner has achieved an elevated and abiding position among the historical scholars of America by his work on the influence and meaning of the expanding West. His students are now scattered all over the country transmitting the impulse received in his classes.

Researcher in Northwestern History

Victor J. Farrar has arrived from the University of Wisconsin to take up his new work as Research Assistant in the University of Washington.

At Work on Russian Archives

Professor Frank A. Golder of the State College of Washington reports success at St. Petersburg, where he is at work on the Russian archives for the Historical Research Department of the Carnegie Institution.

Mountaineers' Lodge

The Mountaineers dedicated on June 21 a log-cabin lodge in the Cascade Range near the Snoqualmie Pass, probably the most historic pass through that range. The ceremonies were participated in by Professor Frederick J. Turner, Major E. S. Ingraham, A. H. Denman, Sidney V. Bryant, Sofie Hammer and Professor Edmond S. Meany.

History Convention

The Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association held a special meeting at the University of Washington on May 21-23, 1914, as a part of the Pacific Association of Scientific Societies. The history programmes were expanded to give representation to the Northwest Association of Teachers of History, Government and Economics

and the proposed Pacific Coast Branch of the American Political Science Association.

The programmes were as follows:

Thursday Morning.—Literature of the Northwest, Professor J. B. Horner, Oregon Agricultural College; Spanish Voyages on the Pacific Coast, Professor F. J. Teggart, University of California; Fur Trading Posts of the Columbia River Basin, T. C. Elliott, Walla Walla.

Thursday Afternoon.—Schleiden's Diplomacy in Connection with the American Civil War, Dr. Ralph H. Lutz, University of Washington; Spanish-American War and the War of 1812, C. A. Sprague, Assistant State Superintendent of Washington; The Basis of Interest in History, Professor Joseph Schafer, University of Oregon; Natural Law and the American Homestead Act, Professor John P. O'Hara, University of Oregon.

Friday Morning.—History of the Oxford Press, Professor Alice E. Page, Willamette University; Holbach and the French Revolution, Professor M. P. Cushing. Reed College; The Fundamental Factor in the Renaissance, Professor Edward M. Hulme, University of Idaho.

Friday Afternoon.—Direct Government in Oregon, Professor W. F. Ogburn, Reed College; The Teaching of Latin-American History and Institutions in American Universities, Professor R. C. Clark, University of Oregon; Commonwealth Legislatures, Professor L. B. Shippee, State College of Washington; Law and Opportunity, Professor W. G. Beach, University of Washington.

Annual Dinner, Friday Evening.—Professor O. H. Richardson, University of Washington, Toastmaster; Presidential Address, Professor Edmond S. Meany, University of Washington, President of the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association; Professor R. C. Clark, representing the proposed Pacific Coast Branch of the American Political Science Association.

Greetings were voiced by the following: Professor Alice E. Page of Willamette University, Professor W. F. Ogburn of Reed College, Librarian E. O. S. Scholefield of the Provincial Library of British Columbia, Assistant State Superintendent C. A. Sprague of Olympia, Professor William A. Morris of the University of California, T. C. Elliott of Walla Walla, Professor Young of the University of Utah, Professor Leroy F. Jackson of the State College of Washington, President C. J. Bushnell of Pacific University.

Saturday Morning.—Perspective in History, President C. J. Bushnell, Pacific University; Training for Citizenship—What to Do? How to Do It? Professor Leroy F. Jackson, State College of Washington; Dis-

cussion opened by Miss Adella M. Parker, Broadway High School, Seattle; What Shall Be the Treatment of Pacific Coast History in the American History Course? Principal H. N. Gridley, Daniel Bagley School, Seattle.

Political Science Section.—State Administration of Health, Professor U. G. Dubach, Oregon Agricultural College; Unemployment, Professor A. R. Wood, Reed College; Discussion: The Report of the Committee of the American Political Science Association on Instruction in Political Science in Colleges and Universities.

The Programme Committee consisted of Professor William A. Morris, University of California, Secretary-Treasurer of the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association; Professor Edward McMahon, University of Washington; Miss Rose Glass, Franklin High School, Seattle; Ellis H. Rogers, Stadium High School, Tacoma; Leo Jones, University of Washington, representing the Proposed Political Science Branch.

In addition to the above programmes, the allied associations were represented on the one general programme of the Pacific Association of Scientific Societies in the person of J. Allen Smith, Dean of the Graduate School of the University of Washington. His theme was The Citizen and the State.

NORTHWESTERN HISTORY SYLLABUS

[The aim of this department is to furnish outlines that will aid those who wish to study the subject systematically. It is expected that its greatest use will be as a guide for members of women's clubs, literary societies, and classes in college or high schools. It will be a form of university extension without the theses and examinations necessary for the earning credits toward a degree.]

X. Review of Boundaries

1. Louisiana Purchase.
   a. France cedes to Spain, 1763.
   b. Spain cedes back to France, 1801.
   c. Lucien Bonaparte's Diary.
   d. Treaty of 30 April, 1803.
   e. Indefinite boundaries.
2. Treaty of Ghent, 1814.
   a. Instructions to American Commissioners.
   b. Ante-bellum conditions as to territory.
   c. Astoria included.
3. Joint Ocupancy Treaty.
   a. Signed 20 October, 1818.
   b. Article III provides for joint occupancy.
   c. Limit of ten years.
4. Purchase of Florida, 1819.
   a. Fixes southern boundary of Oregon country.
   b. Spain gives United States quit-claim to Oregon.
5. Fifty-four, Forty.
   a. Ukase of Russian Czar, 1821.
   b. Europe too disturbed to notice.
   c. England and United States object.
   d. Part of Monroe Doctrine, 1823.
   e. Russian Treaty with United States, 1824.
   f. Russian Treaty with Great Britain, 1825.
   g. Boundary fixed at 54-40.

6. Joint Occupancy Renewed.
   a. Treaty with Great Britain, 1827.
   b. Term indefinite.
   c. May be terminated by twelve months' notice.
7. Webster-Ashburton Treaty, 1842.
   a. Northern boundary adjusted.
   b. Ended at Rocky Mountains.
   c. Oregon not included.
8. Treaty of 1846.
   a. Compromise boundary fixed at 49th parallel.
   b. Skirting Vancouver Island sowed seed of further trouble.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.—Former citations will in many cases apply to this syllabus. The following works will, however, bear directly on the subjects and will also point to other works as needed.

BANCROFT, HUBERT HOWE. Works of. See the two volumes on the Northwest Coast, the two on Oregon and the one on Alaska. The indexes will guide.

HERMANN, BINGER. The Louisiana Purchase and Our Title West of the Rocky Mountains, with a Review of Annexation by the United States. Mr. Hermann was United States Commissioner of the General Land Office and his book was issued as a public document in 1898. It should be found in all libraries of the Northwest. He shows that Oregon was not included in the Louisiana Purchase, although his precedessor had issued a government map showing that it was so included.

HOSMER, JAMES KENDALL. History of the Louisiana Purchase. This work was issued in 1902 as a timely book on account of the approaching Louisiana Purchase Exposition of 1904. Here may be found an extract from Lucien Bonaparte's Diary.

JOHNSON, SIDONA V. A Short History of Oregon. This little book, cited heretofore, will touch upon most of the points covered in this syllabus. The table of contents and index will guide.

MALLOY, WILLIAM M. Treaties, Conventions, International Acts, Protocols and Agreements between the United States of America and Other Powers, 1776-1909. This prime source book in two volumes is a government publication and ought to be in every public library. The

treaties are arranged in alphabetical order as to countries and there is an adequate index as well as abundant explanatory notes. Every student of our boundaries should become familiar with this work.

MARSHALL, WILLIAM I. Acquisition of Oregon, Vol. I., Pp., 142-143. Here the author shows that Astoria was included in the ante-bellum conditions of the Treaty of Ghent. If the student has access to a large library he may go to the source quoted by Marshall: American State Papers, Foreign Relations, Vol. III., Documents 269 and 271.

MEANY, EDMOND S. History of the State of Washington. The table of contents and index will guide to the various topics and footnotes will point the way to original sources.

SCHAFER, JOSEPH. A History of the Pacific Northwest. This is another work which will help the student working on such a syllabus as the above by applying the index to each of the topics.

HISTORY TEACHERS' SECTION

The HISTORY TEACHERS' MAGAZINE for April, May and June contain several articles of general interest to all history teachers. The Teaching of Greek History series continues through all three numbers. In the April Number Professor Sill of Cornell writes on the Two Periods of Greek Expansion; in the May number Professor Fling of Nebraska has an article on the Use of Sources in Teaching Greek History; and in the June number Professor Botsford of Columbia writes on The Choice and Use of Books Relating to the History of Greece.

In each number also is the excellent announcement of the Recent Historical Literature.

The leading article in the May number is by Professor Hull of Swarthmore College on the International Interpretation of United States History. He makes a plea for a wider view of American history, wider even than that which has recently rebelled from the traditions of the New England interpretation. The great number of immigrants into this country, and the great acceptance of culture and civilization from the different European countries leads him to make a plea for an interpretation from the point of view of all of these countries. The substance of his article may be seen in the following paragraph: "The great founders of our Republic besought their fellow-countrymen to think *continentally;* to realize that their individual and their local welfare was wrapped up in the creation and preservation of the national Union. Today we teachers must appeal to our fellow-countrymen of our own and the growing generation to think *internationally;* to realize that our national history, in its origin and in every step of its growth, is the world's most striking object-lesson in the virtue of internationalism; to realize that as a cosmopolitan nation our history and the very substance of our being bind us to the duty of making our ideals of *American Internationalism* prevail in the Family of Nations."

In the same number also is a survey of The Teaching of History in Maine, which does for that State what the same kind of a survey by Professor Sprage did for Washington—and which was published in the History Teachers' Magazine some time ago.

The most interesting article in the June number is an article by Professor Marshall of the Alameda (Cal.) High School on Present Tendencies in High School History Teaching. After discussing the question of pedagogy and the child-study for the high school he goes on to say regarding the tendencies of teaching that "the increased emphasis upon

economic and social history is sound, for it broadens the view of the child, increases his understanding of the human kind, and gives him the substance for the forming of judgments. But when it comes to the shifting of emphasis, the pendulum begins to swing the other way. In ancient history I would push back the borders to the earliest dawn of civilization, broadening rather than contracting its limits. Greek history should not be curtailed to give more time to the Roman Empire. The Hellenic contribution to mankind is as vital as that of the Roman." For the European and English history he would also be conscious of the long past on which they rest, stating that all questions of the day thread their way far into the past. For American history he would push the colonial periods into their respective European settings and see them also as part of that great movement of Europe as a whole for colonial expansion. His view of the teaching of local history is interesting—and he is speaking for California conditions. Local contracts rather than broadens the vision of the child; too often the pupils can see no further than the boundary of his state, forgetting the general movement of which his state is only an incident. He also points out the scarcity of suitable and worthy texts on local history; and closes with the belief that "There are two places in the wide field of education where California history has its place; namely, in the grammar school, where a technical knowledge of the subject is unnecessary, and in the post-graduate work of the university, where the subject is a fruitful field for investigations."

In the same number is also a thoughtful article: Suggestions for Beginners in the Teaching of History.

The TEXAS HISTORY TEACHERS' MAGAZINE for May contains an article by Professor Riker of Texas on The Art of Studying the Text-Book. High school teachers of European history will very likely find many valuable suggestions in it.

Of special value is the article by Professor Kellar of Texas on Some Suggestions for Equipment in History Teaching in the High School. In the thirty-three pages he gives an excellent selection of books for high school purposes on Ancient, Medieval and Modern, English, American, History and Civics. The lists are arranged in separate lists, costing, respectively, $5, $10, $25, $50 and $100.

VERGANGENHEIT UND GEGENWART for May has its leading article on The Epic Principle in History Instruction. Another interesting article describes the attempts of Krupp and Zeiss at Essen and Jena to increase the educational advantages of their employees.

The usual excellent bibliographical notices, covering twenty-five pages in number, covers the field of ancient and art history. In the section given to the auxiliary sciences is an excellent review of the new edition of Aloys Meister's Principles of the Historical Science.

In the last number of the Quarterly reference was made to an article in the Vergangenheit und Gegenwart by Professor Show of Stanford —his presidential address before the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association in 1912. The translation elicited much comment in Germany and in this number of the magazine are printed three replies to Professor Show and his criticisms of the Lamprecht school of history at Leipzig. One is written by present and former students under Lamprecht at Leipzig; another is written by Lamprecht himself; and the third is from the editors of the magazine.

On June 2nd the Seattle History Teachers' Club held its second meeting at the Good Eats Cafe. Professor Fleming of the Franklin High School presided, while Professor Bowman of the University spoke on the history work of the high school as seen in the freshman class in the University. There was pointed out the usual laxness on the part of the students to read a sentence with care and understanding, also the inability to hold to a question and do only what the question calls for. Dr. Lutz of the University also spoke. The speakers urged that the high school teachers and the university instructors get together and see to what extent they could come to an understanding as to the elementary work in doing history so that the university could begin where the high schools leave off. Certain activities should be secured in the high schools so that when the student goes to the university these steps could be taken as the beginning of the work there. After a discussion of the talk a committee was authorized to work on the problem of the "power method" in the high schools and the point to which it could be carried in the schools.

This was the first of a general discussion of the relation of the several phases of the school system history teaching. The next meeting of the club will consider the history work of the university from the point of view of the high school; later the same relation will be noted between the high schools and the grades.

Professor O'Conner was elected chairman of the next meeting. A constitution was reported by Professor Fleming and was adopted. The name of the club is to be The Seatlte History Teachers' Club. It will meet two or three times each year with a changing committee in charge of each meeting. It is also intended to urge the participation of the history teachers around the Sound.

The Washington Historical Quarterly

Board of Editors

CLARENCE B. BAGLEY, Seattle.
J. N. BOWMAN, Seattle.
T. C. ELLIOTT, Walla Walla.
FRANK A. GOLDER, Pullman.
CEYLON S. KINGSTON, Cheney.
W. D. LYMAN, Walla Walla.
EDWARD MCMAHON, Seattle.
THOMAS W. PROSCH, Seattle.
OLIVER H. RICHARDSON, Seattle.
O. B. SPERLIN, Tacoma.
E. O. S. SCHOLEFIELD, Victoria, B. C.
ALLEN WEIR, *Olympia.*

Managing Editor
EDMOND S. MEANY

Business Manager
CHARLES W. SMITH

VOL. V. NO. 4 OCTOBER, 1914

ISSUED QUARTERLY

Contents

FREDERICK JACKSON TURNER..The West and American Ideals... 243
T. C. ELLIOTT .....Journal of John Work, December 15, 1825, to June 12, 1826..... 258
EDWIN EELLS .....Eliza and the Nez Perce Indians 288
DOCUMENTS—A New Vancouver Journal 300
BOOK REVIEWS 309
NEWS DEPARTMENT 320
NORTHWESTERN HISTORY SYLLABUS 322
HISTORY TEACHERS' SECTION 325
INDEX, VOLUME V. 327

THE WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY
STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY
UNIVERSITY STATION
SEATTLE, WASHINGTON

Entered at the postoffice at Seattle as second-class mail matter.

The Washington University State Historical Society

Officers and Board of Trustees:

CLARENCE B. BAGLEY, *President*

JUDGE JOHN P. HOYT, Vice-President

JUDGE ROGER S. GREENE, Treasurer

PROFESSOR EDMOND S. MEANY, Secretary

JUDGE CORNELIUS H. HANFORD

JUDGE THOMAS BURKE

SAMUEL HILL

SEATTLE
DEPARTMENT OF PRINTING, UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON
1914

Vol. V., No. 4. *October, 1914*

The Washington Historical Quarterly

THE WEST AND AMERICAN IDEALS

True to American traditions that each succeeding generation ought to find in the Republic a better home, once in every year the colleges and universities summon the nation to lift its eyes from the routine of work, in order to take stock of the country's purposes and achievements, to examine its past and consider its future.

This attitude of self examination is hardly characteristic of the people as a whole. Particularly it is not characteristic of the historic American. He has been an opportunist rather than a dealer in general ideas. Destiny set him in a current which bore him swiftly along through such a wealth of opportunity that reflection and well-considered planning seemed wasted time. He knew not where he was going, but he was on his way, cheerful, optimistic, busy and buoyant.

Today we are reaching a changed condition, less apparent perhaps, in the newer regions than in the old, but sufficiently obvious to extend the commencement frame of mind from the college to the country as a whole. The swift and inevitable current of the upper reaches of the nation's history has borne it to the broader expanse and slower stretches which mark the nearness of the level sea. The vessel, no longer carried along by the rushing waters, finds it necessary to determine its own directions on this new ocean of its future, to give conscious consideration to its motive power and to its steering gear.

It matters not so much that those who address these college men and women upon life, and give conflicting answers to the questions of whence and whither. The pause for remembrance, for reflection and for aspiration is wholesome in itself.

Although the American people are becoming more self conscious, more responsive to the appeal to act by deliberate choices, we should be over-sanguine if we believed that even in this new day these commencement surveys were taken to heart by the general public, or that they were directly and immediately influential upon national thought and action.

*Commencement Address, University of Washington, June 17, 1914.

But even while we check our enthusiasm by this realization of the common thought, we must take heart. The University's peculiar privilege and distinction lie in the fact that it is not the passive instrument of the State to voice its current ideas. Its problem is not that of expressing tendencies. Its mission is to create tendencies and to direct them. Its problem is that of leadership and of ideals. It is called, of course, to justify the support which the public gives it, by working in close and sympathetic touch with those it serves. More than that, it would lose important elements of strength if it failed to recognize the fact that improvement and creative movement often come from the masses themselves, instinctively moving toward a better order. The University's graduates must be fitted to take their places naturally and effectually in the common life of the time. But the University is called also to justify its existence by giving to its sons and daughters something which they could not well have gotten through the ordinary experiences of the life outside its walls. It is called to serve the time by independent research and by original thought. If it were a mere recording instrument of conventional opinion and average information, it is hard to see why the University should exist at all. To clasp hands with the common life in order that it may lift that life, to be a radiant center enkindling the society in which it has its being, these are primary duties of the University. Fortunate the state which gives free play to this spirit of inquiry. Let it "grubstake" its intellectual prospectors and send them forth where "the trails run out and stop." A famous scientist holds that the universal ether bears vital germs which impinging upon a dead world would bring life to it. So, at least it is, in the world of thought, where energized ideals put in the air and carried here and there by the waves and currents of the intellectual atmosphere, fertilize vast inert areas.

The University therefore, has a double duty. On the one hand it must aid in the improvement of the general economic and social environment. It must help on in the work of scientific discovery and of making such conditions of existence, economic, political and social, as will produce more fertile and responsive soil for a higher and better life. It must stimulate a wider demand on the part of the public for right leadership. It must extend its operations more widely among the people and sink deeper shafts through social strata to find new supplies of intellectual gold in popular levels yet untouched. And on the other hand, it must find and fit men and women for leadership. It must both awaken new demands and it must satisfy those demands by trained leaders with new motives, with new incentives to ambition, with higher and broader conception of what constitute the prizes in life, of what constitutes success. The University has

to deal with both the soil and sifted seed in the agriculture of the human spirit.

Its efficiency is not the efficiency which the business engineer is fitted to appraise. If it is a training ship, it is a training ship bound on a voyage of discovery, seeking new horizons. The economy of the University's consumption can only be rightly measured by the later times which shall possess those new realms of the spirit which its voyage shall reveal. If the ships of Columbus had engaged in a profitable coastwise traffic between Palos and Cadiz they might have saved sail cloth, but their keels would never have grated on the shores of a New World.

The appeal of the undiscovered is strong in America. For three centuries the fundamental process in its history was the westward movement, the discovery and occupation of the vast free spaces of the continent. We are the first generation of Americans who can look back upon that era as a historic movement now coming to its end. Other generations have been so much a part of it that they could hardly comprehend its significance. To them it seemed inevitable. The free land and the natural resources seemed practically inexhaustible. Nor were they aware of the fact that their most fundamental traits, their institutions, even their ideals were shaped by this interaction between the wilderness and themselves.

American democracy was born of no theorist's dream; it was not carried in the Susan Constant to Virginia, nor in the Mayflower to Plymouth. It came stark and strong and full of life out of the American forest, and it gained new strength each time it touched a new frontier. Not the constitution, but free land and an abundance of natural resources open to a fit people, made the democratic type of society in America for three centuries while it occupied its great empire.

Today we are looking with a shock upon a changed world. The national problem is no longer how to cut and burn away the vast screen of the dense and daunting forest; it is how to save and wisely use the remaining timber. It is no longer how to get the great spaces of fertile prairie land in humid zones out of the hands of the government into the hands of the pioneer; these lands have already passed into private possession. No longer is it a question of how to avoid or cross the Great Plains and the arid desert. It is a question of how to conquer those rejected lands by new method of farming and by cultivating new crops from seed collected by the government and by scientists from the cold, dry steppes of Siberia to the burning sands of Egypt, and the remote interior of China. It is a problem of how to bring the precious rills of water on to

the alkali and sage brush. Population is increasing faster than the food supply.

New farm lands no longer increase decade after decade in areas equal to those of European States. While the ratio of increase of improved land declines, the value of farm lands rise and the price of food leaps upward, reversing the old ratio between the two. The cry of scientific farming and the conservation of natural resources replaces the cry of rapid conquest of the wilderness. We have so far won our national home, wrested from it its first rich treasures, and drawn to it the unfortunate of other lands, that we are already obliged to compare ourselves with settled states of the Old World. In place of our attitude of contemptuous indifference to the legislation of such countries as Germany and England, even Western States like Wisconsin send commissions to study their systems of taxation, workingmen's insurance, old age pensions and a great variety of other remedies for social ills.

If we look about the periphery of the nation everywhere we see the indications that our world is changing. On the streets of Northeastern cities like New York and Boston, the faces which we meet are to a surprising extent those of Southeastern Europe. Puritan New England, which turned its capital into factories and mills and drew to its shores the vast army of cheap labor, governed these people for a time by a ruling class like an upper stratum between which and the lower strata there was no assimilation. There was no such evolution into an assimilated commonwealth as is seen in Middle Western agricultural states, where immigrant and old native stock came in together and built up a homogeneous society on the principle of give and take. But now the Northeastern Coast finds its destiny, politically and economically, passing away from the descendants of the Puritans. It is the little Polish or Jewish boy, the Greek or the Sicilian, who takes the traveller through historic streets, now the home of these newer people to the Old North Church or to Paul Revere's house, or to Tea Wharf, and tells you in his strange patois the story of revolution against oppression.

Along the Southern Atlantic and the Gulf Coast, in spite of the preservative influence of the negro, whose presence has always called out resistance to change on the part of the whites, the forces of social and industrial transformation are at work. The old tidewater aristocracy has surrendered to the up country democrats. Along the line of the Alleghanies like an advancing column, the forces of Northern capital, textile and steel mills, year after year extend their invasion into the lower South. New Orleans, once the mistress of the commerce of the Mississippi Valley, is awakening to new dreams of world commerce. On the southern border,

similar invasions of American capital have been entering Mexico. At the same time, the opening of the Panama Canal has completed the dream of the ages of the Straits of Anian between Atlantic and Pacific. Four hundred years ago, Balboa raised the flag of Spain at the edge of the sea of the West and we are now preparing to celebrate both that anniversary, and the piercing of the continent. New relations have been created between Spanish America and the United States and the world is watching the mediation of Argentina, Brazil and Chili between the contending forces of Mexico and the Union. Once more alien national interests lie threatening at our borders, but we no longer appeal to the Monroe Doctrine and send our armies of frontier men to settle our concerns off hand. We take council with European nations and with the sisterhood of South America, and propose a remedy of social reorganization in place of imperious will and force. Whether the effort will succeed or not, it is a significant indication that an old order is passing away, when such a solution is undertaken by a President of Scotch-Irish stock, born in the fiery state of South Carolina.

If we turn to the Northern border, where we are about to celebrate a century of peace with England, we see in progress, like a belated procession of our own history the spread of pioneers, the opening of new wildernesses, the building of new cities, the growth of a new and mighty nation. That old American advance of the wheat farmer from the Connecticut to the Mohawk, and the Genesee, from the great valley of Pennsylvania to the Ohio Valley and the prairies of the Middle West, is now by its own momentum and under the stimulous of Canadian homesteads and the high price of wheat, carried across the national border to the once lone and vast plains where the Hudson Bay dog trains crossed the desolate snows of the wild North Land. In the Pacific Northwest the era of construction has not ended, but it is so rapidly in progress that we can already see the closing of the age of the pioneer. Already Alaska beckons on the North, and pointing to her wealth of natural resources asks the nation on what new terms the new age will deal with her. Across the Pacific looms Asia, no longer a remote vision and a symbol of the unchanging, but borne as by mirage close to our shores and raising grave questions of the common destiny of the people of this Ocean. The dreams of Benton and of Seward of a regenerated Orient, when the long march of Westward civilization should complete its circle, seem almost to be in process of realization. The age of the Pacific Ocean begins, mysterious and unfathomable in its meaning for our own future.

Turning to view the interior, we see the same picture of change. When the Superintendent of the Census in 1890 declared the frontier line no

longer traceable, the beginning of the rush into Oklahoma had just occurred. Here where the broken fragments of Indian nations from the East had been gathered and where the wilder tribes of the Southwest were being settled, came the rush of the land hungry pioneer. Almost at a blow the old Indian territory passed away, populous cities came into being and it was not long before gushing oil wells made a new era of sudden wealth. The farm lands of the Middle West taken as free homesteads or bought for a mere pittance, have risen so in value that the original owners have in an increasing degree either sold them in order to reinvest in the newer cheap lands of the West, or have moved into the town and have left the tillage to tenant farmers. The growth of absentee ownership of the soil is producing a serious problem in the farmer centers of the granger and the populist. Along the Old Northwest the Great Lakes are becoming a new Mediterranean Sea joining the realms of wheat and iron ore, at one end with the coal and furnaces of the forks of the Ohio, where the most intense and wide-reaching center of industrial energy exists. City life like that of the East, manufactures and accumulated capital, seem to be reproducing in the center of the Republic the tendencies already so plain on the Atlantic Coast.

Across the Great Plains where buffalo and Indian held sway successive industrial waves are passing. The old free range gave place to the ranch, the ranch to the homestead and now in places in the arid lands the homestead is replaced by the ten or twenty acre irrigated fruit farm. The age of cheap land, cheap corn and wheat, and cheap cattle has gone forever. The federal government has undertaken vast paternal enterpirzes of reclamation of the desert.

In the Rocky Mountains where at the time of Civil War, the first important rushes to gold and silver mines carried the frontier backward on a march toward the East, the most amazing transformations have occurred. Here, where prospectors made new trails, and lived the wild free life of mountain men, here where the human spirit seemed likely to attain the largest measure of individual freedom, and where fortune beckoned to the common man, have come revolutions wrought by the demand for organized industry and capital. In the regions where the popular tribunal and the free competitive life flourished, we have seen law and order break down in the unmitigated collision of great aggregations of capital, with each other and with organized socialistic labor. The Cripple Creek strikes, the contests at Butte, the Goldfield mobs, the recent Colorado fighting, all tell a similar story,—the solid impact of contending forces in regions where civic power and loyalty to the state have never fully developed. Like the Grand Canon, where in the dazzling light in the huge geologic history is

written so large that none may fail to read it, so in the Rocky Mountains the dangers of modern American industrial tendencies have been exposed.

As we crossed the Cascades on our way to Seattle, one of the passengers was moved to explain his feelings on the excellence of Puget Sound in contrast with the remaining visible Universe. He did it well in spite of irreverent interruptions from those fellow travellers who were unconverted children of the East, and at last he broke forth on the passionate challenge, "Why should I not love Seattle! It took me from the slums of the Atlantic Coast, a poor Swedish boy with hardly fifteen dollars in my pocket. It gave me a home by the bountiful sea; it spread before my eyes a vision of snow capped peaks and smiling fields; it brought abundance and a new life to me and my children and I love it, I love it! If I were a multimillionaire I would charter freight cars and carry away from the crowded tenements and noisome alleys of the eastern cities and the Old World the toiling masses, and let them loose in our vast forests and ore-laden mountains to learn what life really is!" And my heart was stirred by his words and by the whirling spaces of woods and peaks through which we passed. But as I looked and listened to this passionate outcry, I remembered, the words of Tallyrand, the exiled Bishop of Autun, in Washington's administration. Looking down from an eminence not far from Philadelphia upon a wilderness which is now in the heart of that huge industrial society where population presses on the means of life, even the cold-blooded and cynical Tallyrand, gazing on those unpeopled hills and forests, kindled with the vision of coming clearings, the smiling farms and grazing herds that were to be, the populous towns that should be built, the newer and finer social organization that should there arise. And then I remembered the hall in Harvard's museum of social ethics through which I pass to my lecture room when I speak on the history of the Westward movement. That hall is covered with an exhibit of the work in Pittsburgh steel mills, and of the congested tenements. Its charts and diagrams tell of the long hours of work, the death rate, the relation of typhoid to the slums, the gathering of the poor of all Southeastern Europe to make a civilization at that center of American industrial energy and vast capital that is a social tragedy. As I enter my lecture room through that hall, I speak of the young Washington leading his Virginia frontiersmen to the magnificent forest at the forks of the Ohio. Where Braddock and his men, "carving a cross on the wilderness rim," were struck by the painted savages in the primeval woods, huge furnaces belch forth perpetual fires and Huns and Bulgars, Poles and Sicilians struggle for a chance to earn their daily bread, and live a brutal and degraded life. Irresistibly there rushed across my mind the memorable words of Huxley:

"Even the best of modern civilization appears to me to exhibit a condition of mankind which neither embodies any worthy ideal nor even possesses the merit of stability. I do not hesitate to express the opinion that, if there is no hope of a large improvement of the condition of the greater part of the human family; if it is true that the increase of knowledge, the winning of a greater dominion over Nature, which is its consequence, and the wealth which follows upon that dominion, are to make no difference in the extent and the intensity of Want, with its concomitant physical and moral degradation, among the masses of the people, I should hail the advent of some kindly comet, which would sweep the whole affair away, as a desirable consummation."

But if there is disillusion and shock and apprehension as we come to realize these changes, to strong men and women there is challenge and inspiration in them too. In place of old frontiers of wilderness, there are new frontiers of unwon fields of science, fruitful for the needs of the race; there are frontiers of better social domains yet unexplored. Let us hold to our attitude of faith and courage, and creative zeal. Let us dream as our fathers dreamt and let us make our dreams come true.

"Daughters of Time, the hypocritic days,
Bear diadems and fagots in their hands
To each they offer gifts after his will
Bread, kingdoms, stars and sky that hold them all.
I, in my pleached garden watched the pomp,
Forgot my morning wishes,
Hastily took a few herbs and apples,
And the day turned and departed, I too late,
Under her solemn fillet, saw the scorn!"

What were America's "morning wishes?" From the beginning of that long westward march of the American people America has never been the home of mere contented materialism. It has continuously sought new ways and dreamed of a perfected social type.

In the fifteenth century when men dealt with the New World which Columbus found, the ideal of discovery was dominant. Here was placed within the reach of men whose ideas had been bounded by the Atlantic, new realms to be explored. America became the land of European dreams, its Fortunate Islands were made real, where, in the imagination of old Europe, peace and happiness, as well as riches and eternal youth, were to be found. To Sir Edwin Sandys and his friends of the London Company, Virginia offered an opportunity to erect the Republic for which they had longed in vain in England. To the Puritans, New England was the new land of freedom, wherein they might establish the institutions of God, ac-

cording to their own faith. As the vision died away in Virginia toward the close of the seventeenth century, it was taken up anew by the fiery Bacon with his revolution to establish a real democracy in place of the rule of the planter aristocracy, that formed along the Coast. Hardly had he been overthrown when in the eighteenth century, the democratic ideal was rejuvenated by the strong frontiersmen, who pressed beyond the New England Coast into the Berkshires and up the valleys of the Green Mountains of Vermont, and by the Scotch Irish and German pioneers who followed the Great Valley from Pennsylvania into the Upland South. In both the Yankee frontiersmen and the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians of the South, the Calvinistic conception of the importance of the individual, bound by free convenant to his fellow men and to God, was a compelling influence, and all their wilderness experience combined to emphasize the ideals of opening new ways, of giving freer play to the individual, and of constructing democratic society.

When the backwoodsmen crossed the Alleghanies they put between themselves and the Atlantic Coast a barrier which seemed to separate them from a region already too much like the Europe they had left, and as they followed the courses of the rivers that flowed to the Mississippi, they called themselves "Men of the Western Waters," and their new home in the Mississippi Valley was the "Western World." Here, by the thirties, Jacksonian democracy flourished, strong in the faith of the intrinsic excellence of the common man, in his right to make his own place in the world, and in his capacity to share in government. But while Jacksonian democracy demanded these rights, it was also loyal to leadership as the very name implies. It was ready to follow to the uttermost the man in whom it placed its trust, whether the hero were frontier fighter or president, and it even rebuked and limited its own legislative representatives and recalled its senators when they ran counter to their chosen executive. Jacksonian Democracy was essentially rural. It was based on the good fellowship and genuine social feeling of the frontier, in which classes and inequalities of fortune played little part. But it did not demand equality of condition, for there was abundance of natural resources and the belief that the self made man had a right to his success in the free competition which western life afforded, was as prominent in their thought as was the love of democracy. On the other hand, they viewed governmental restraints with suspicion as a limitation on their right to work out their own individuality.

For the banking institutions and capitalists of the East they had an instinctive antipathy. Already they feared that the "money power" as Jackson called it, was planning to make hewers of wood and drawers of water of the common people.

In this view they found allies among the labor leaders of the East, who in the same period began their fight for better conditions of the wage earner. These Locofocos were the first Americans to demand fundamental social changes for the benefit of the workers in the cities. Like the Westren pioneers they protested against monopolies and special privilege. But they also had a constructive policy, whereby society was to be kept democratic by free gifts of the public land, so that surplus labor might not bid against itself, but might find an outlet in the West. Thus to both the labor theorist and the practical pioneer, the existence of what seemed inexhaustible cheap land and unpossessed resources was the condition of democracy. In these years of the thirties and forties, Western democracy took on its distinctive form. Travellers like De Tocqueville and Harriet Martineau, came to study and to report it enthusiastically to Europe. Miss Martineau pictures the American "exulting that he has caught the true aspect of things past and the depth of futurity which lies before him, wherein to create something so magnificent as the world has scarcely begun to dream of." "There is the strongest hope of a nation that is capable of being possessed with an idea," she adds, and she adjures the American people to "give perpetual and earnest heed to one point, to cherish their high democratic hope, their faith in man. The older they grow the more must they reverence the dreams of their youth."

Side by side with this westward marching army of individualistic liberty-loving democratic back woodsmen, went a more northern stream of pioneers, who cherished similar ideas, but added to them the desire to create new industrial centers, to build up factories, to build railroads, and to develop the country by founding cities and extending prosperity. They were ready to call upon legislatures to aid in this, by subscriptions to stock, grants of franchises, promotion of banking and internal improvements. Government was not to them so much a necessary evil as it was a convenience for promoting their industrial aims. These were the Whig followers of that other Western leader, Henry Clay, and their early strength lay in the Ohio Valley, and particularly among the well-to-do. In the South their strength was found among the aristocracy of the Cotton Kingdom.

Both of these Western groups, Whigs and Democrats alike, had one common ideal: the desire to leave their children a better heritage than they themselves had received, and both were fired with devotion to the ideal of creating in this New World a home more worthy of mankind. Both were ready to break with the past, to boldly strike out new lines of social endeavor, and both believed in American expansion.

Before these tendencies had worked themselves out, three new forces entered. In the sudden extension of our boundaries to the Pacific Coast,

which took place in the forties, the nation won so vast a domain that its resources seemed illimitable and its society seemed able to throw off all its maladies by the very presence of these vast new spaces. At the same period the great activity of railroad building to the Mississippi Valley occurred, making these lands available and diverting attention to the task of economic construction. The third influence was the slavery question which, becoming acute, shaped the American ideals and public discussion for nearly a generation. Viewed from one angle, this struggle involved the great question of national unity. From another it involved the question of the relations of labor and capital, democracy and aristocracy. It was not without significance that Abraham Lincoln became the very type of American pioneer democracy, the first adequate and elemental demonstration to the world that that democracy could produce a man who belonged to the ages.

After the war, new national energies were set loose, and new construction and development engaged the attention of the Westerners as they occupied prairies and Great Plains and mountains.. Democracy and capitalistic development did not seem antagonistic.

Any survey of Western forces which have affected American ideals, would be sadly defective which failed to take account of the profound influence of immigration. Whether we consider the enthusiasts who came to find in the wilderness the freedom to institute their experiments in religion, or the masses who broke from their Old World habits and customs and turned to America as the land of promise, there is the same note of hope and aspiration. On the dullest faces of the steerage a new light falls as the American gateway is entered. We shall not comprehend the elements that are shaping and are to shape our destiny, without due realization of the immigrant's dream.

With the passing of the frontier, Western social and political ideals took new form. Capital began to consolidate in even greater masses, and increasingly attempted to reduce to system and control the processes of industrial development, but of the age of free competition, there came the greatest private fortunes and the most stupendous combination of economic interests in few hands that the world has ever seen. Labor with equal step organized its forces to destroy the old competitive system. It is not strange that the Western pioneers took alarm for their ideals of democracy as the outcome of the free struggle for the national resources became apparent. Prophesied by the Granger movement, these new tendencies came fully into the light with the Populists and from them the new gospel passed to Bryan Democracy, Roosevelt Republicanism and the Progressives.

It was a new gospel, for the Western radical became convinced that

he must sacrifice his ideal of individualism and free competition in order to maintain his ideal of democracy. Under this conviction the Populist revised the pioneer conception of government. He saw in government no longer something outside of him, but the people themselves shaping their own affairs. He demanded therefore an extension of the powers of governments in the interest of his historic ideal of democratic society. He demanded not only free silver, but the ownership of the agencies of communication and transportation, the income tax, the postal savings bank, the provision of means of credit for agriculture, the construction of more effective devices to express the will of the people, primary nominations, direct elections, initiative, referendum and recall. In a word, capital, labor, and the Western pioneer, all deserted the ideal of competitive individualism in order to organize their interests in more effective combinations. The disappearance of the frontier, the closing of the era which was marked by the influence of the West as a form of society, brings with it new problems of social adjustment, new demands for considering our past ideals and our present needs.

Let us recall the conditions of the foreign relations along our borders, the dangers that wait us if we fail to unite in the solution of our domestic problems. Let us recall those internal evidences of the destruction of our old social order. If we take to heart this warning, we shall do well also to recount our historic ideals, to take stock of those purposes, and fundamental assumptions that have gone to make the American spirit and the meaning of America in world history. First of all, there was the ideal of discovery, the courageous determination to break new paths, indifference to the dogma that because an institution or a condition exists, it must remain. All American experience has gone to the making of the spirit of innovation; it is in the blood and will not be repressed.

Then, there was the ideal of democracy, the ideal of a free self directing people, responsive to leadership in the forming of programmes, and their execution, but insistent that the procedure should be that of free choice, not of compulsion.

But there was also the ideal of individualism. This democratic society was not a disciplined army, where all must keep step and where the collective interests destroyed individual will and work. Rather it was a mobile mass of freely circulating atoms, each seeking its own place and finding play for its own powers and for its own original initiative. We cannot lay too much stress upon this point, for it was at the very heart of the whole American movement. The world was to be made a better world by the example of a democracy in which there was freedom of the individual in

which there was the vitality and mobility productive of originality and variety.

Bearing in mind the far-reaching influence of the disappearance of unlimited resources open to all men for the taking, and considering the recoil of the common man when he saw the outcome of the competive struggle for these resources as the supply came to its end over most of the nation, we can understand the reaction against individualism and in favor of drastic assertion of the powers of government. Legislation is taking the place of the free lands as the means of preserving the ideal of democracy. But at the same time it is endangering the other pioneer ideal of creative and competitive individualism. Both were essential and constituted what was best in America's contribution to history and to progress. Both must be preserved if the nation would be true to its past, and would fulfill its highest destiny. It would be a grave misfortune if these people so rich in experience, in self confidence and aspiration, in creative genius, should turn to some Old World discipline of socialism or plutocracy, or despotic rule, whether by people or by dictator. Nor shall we be driven to these alternatives. Our ancient hopes, our courageous faith, our underlying good humor and love of fair play will triumph in the end. There will be give and take in all directions. There will be disinterested leadership, under loyalty to the best American ideals. Nowhere is this leadership more likely to arise than among the men trained in the Universities, aware of the promise of the past and the possibilities of the future. The times call for new ambitions and new motives.

In a most suggestive essay on the Problems of Modern Democracy, Mr. Godkin has said:

"M. de Tocqueville and all his followers take it for granted that the great incentive to excellence, in all countries in which excellence is found, is the patronage and encouragement of an aristocracy; that democracy is generally content with mediocrity. But where is the proof of this? The incentive to exertion which is widest, most constant, and most powerful in its operations in all civilized countries, is the desire of distinction; and this may be composed either of love of fame or love of wealth or of both. In literary and artistic and scientific pursuits, sometimes the strongest influence is exerted by a love of the subject. But it may safely be said that no man has ever labored in any of the higher colleges to whom the applause and appreciation of his fellows was not one of the sweetest rewards of his exertions.

"What is there we would ask, in the nature of democratic institutions, that should render this great spring of action powerless, that should deprive glory of all radiance, and put ambition to sleep. Is it not notorious, on the

contrary, that one of the most marked pecularities of democratic society, or of a society drifting toward democracy, is the fire of competition which rages in it, the fevered anxiety which possesses all its members to rise above the dead level to which the law is ever seeking to confine them, and by some brilliant stroke become something higher and more remarkable than their fellows? The secret of that great restlessness which is one of the most disagreeable accompaniments of life in democratic countries, is in fact due to the eagerness of everybody to grasp the prizes of which in aristocratic countries, only the few have much chance. And in no other society is success more worshipped, is distinction of any kind more widely flattered and caressed.

"In domestic societies, in fact excellence is the first title to distinction; in aristocratic ones there are two or three others which are far stronger and which must be stronger or aristocracy could not exist. The moment you acknowledge that the highest social position ought to be the reward of the man who has the most talent, you make aristocratic institutions impossible."

All that was buoyant and creative in American life would be lost if we gave up the respect for distinct personality, and variety in genius, and came to the dead level of common standards. To be "socialized into an average" and placed "under the tutelage of the mass of us," as a recent writer has put it, would be an irreparable loss. Nor is it necessary in a democracy, as these words of Godkin well disclosed. What is needed is the multiplication of motives for ambition and the opening of new lines of achievement for the strongest. As we turn from the task of the first rough conquest of the continent there lies before us a whole wealth of unexploited resources in the realm of the spirit. Arts and letters, science and better social creation, loyalty and political service to the commonweal,—these and a thousand other directions of activity are open to the men, who formerly under the incentive of attaining distinction by amassing extraordinary wealth, saw success only in material display. Newer and finer careers will open to the ambitious when once public opinion shall award the laurels to those who rise above their fellows in these new fields of labor. It has not been the gold, but the getting of the gold, that has caught the imaginations of our captains of industry. Their real enjoyment lay not in the luxuries which wealth brought, but in the work of construction and in the place which society awarded them. A new era will come if schools and universities can only widen the intellectual horizon of the people, help to lay the foundations of a better industrial life, show them new goals for endeavor, inspire them with more varied and higher ideals.

The Western spirit must be invoked for new and nobler achievements. Of that matured Western spirit, Tennyson's Ulysses is a symbol.

"I am become a name
For always roaming with a hungry heart,
Much have I seen and known—
I am a part of all that I have met;
Yet all experience is an arch, where thro'
Gleams that untravelled world, whose margin fades
Forever and forever when I move.
How dull it is to pause, to make an end.
To rest unburnished, not to shine in use!
And this gray spirit yearning desire
To follow knowledge like a sinking star
Beyond the utmost bound of human thought.
* * * Come my friends,
'Tis not too late to seek a newer world.
Push off, and sitting well in order smite
The sounding furrows; for my purpose holds
To sail beyond the sunset, and the baths
Of all the Western stars until I die—
To strive, to seek, to find and not to yield."

FREDERICK JACKSON TURNER.

JOURNAL OF JOHN WORK, DEC. 15TH, 1825, TO JUNE 12TH, 1826

(Introduction and Annotations by T. C. Elliott.)

The publication of this journal was begun in Vol. 5, No. 2 (April, 1914) of this Quarterly and has been completed in three parts instead of two as first intended; the introductory statements in the previous numbers will be of assistance to readers. For the sake of those who may not see the earlier numbers some of the annotations are repeated. The journal ends rather abruptly just before the arrival of Mr. Work at Fort Vancouver in June, 1826, almost an even year after it began with his departure from that same Fort.

This third part of the journal begins with Mr. Work in charge of the winter trade, 1825-6, at Flathead Fort or House located near the present Eddy Station of the Northern Pacific Railway in Sanders County, Montana. He remains there until February and returns to Spokane House and is on duty there with Mr. Dease, the chief trader, during the dismantling of that establishment in the spring of 1826. He then proceeded to Fort Okanogan for a short time and joins the annual "brigade" going down the Columbia river to Fort Vancouver, in June, 1826.

I have been asked to explain the meaning of the term "gummed," which is used quite often in these traders' journals. It means the smearing of the seams of the canoes or boats with pitch or gum gathered from the forest trees.

Reference has been made (note 2, p. 85) to C. McKay, as a son of Alex. McKay of the Astor party, but there appears to be doubt as to that relationship; quite likely C. McKay belonged to another family. There is also a question as to when the furs from the New Caledonia district began to come down over the Okanogan trail for shipment to Fort Vancouver; that trade route was probably opened earlier. The Thompson river (Kamloops) furs had come that way from the very beginning, in 1812.

Research as to the identity of the actual builder of the trading post called Spokane House has progressed a little farther since the beginning of this publication; meaning the original Northwest Company post and not that of the Pacific Fur Company. There are reasons to believe that Mr. Jacques Finlay built it rather than Finan McDonald, as stated in notes No. 28 and 45.

This journal furnishes the source of our information for the beginning of occupation of the trading post on Marcus Flat, above Kettle Falls, and it

is well to emphasize the correct spelling of the name of that post, namely Fort Colvile; not Colville as corrupted. It took the name from one of the directors of the Hudson's Bay Company, Mr. E. Colvile.

Doubtful words and expressions are enclosed in brackets.

JOURNAL

(Continued from Page 191, Vol. V., No. 3.)

December 1825. Thursday 15

Stormy with sharp frost in the night. Mild pleasant weather during the day.

Had the men employed with Mr. Kittson opening and examining the Snake[112] furs, they are generally in good order but of a very inferior quality, they also do not answer the description given of them as many small beaver have been called large, the nums are as follows; 744 Large & 298 Small beaver and 15 otters.—

Friday 16th

Mild soft weather.

The Kootenasy Chief paid us another visit and after trading a lodge and some Deer skins, got a small present and in the evening took his final departure for the winter. He is going with his people to hunt in their own lands not far from the fort[113] on their own river, where they intend to live on deer and endeavour to get a few beaver. On account of the snow they are apprehensive that they will not be able to go sufficiently far off to make a great hunt.—

In different conversations with the Kootanies since their arrival they express a particlular wish to have a fort in their own country, and represent the communication by water much less difficult than the Indians whom Mr. Kittson saw stated it to be,[114] and say that the part which Mr. Kittson saw is the worst of it. They were told that they might depend on having an Establishment on their lands next season either by land or by water. Every means should be adopted to keep them on their own lands as they make much better hunt there than elsewhere. Their unprecedented trade this fall is to be mainly attributed to their hunting in the summer & fall on the upper waters of their own river and the Columbia. It is out of our power to send people & supplies with them at present for

112That is, the furs sent from the Snake river country where Peter Skene Ogden's party had been trapping during winter and summer of 1825.

113The trading post known as Fort Kootenay had been located nearly opposite the present town of Jennings, Montana, but was not being maintained this year.

114This refers to attempt of Mr. Kittson to ascend the Kootenay river from the Columbia in a batteau, mentioned on pages 178-9 of this quarterly.

want of horses, the six we have here, some of them from the Snake Country are so lean that they are totally unfit for the journey.—

Old LaBuche the F. Head chief paid us another visit.—

Saturday 17th

Heavy rain in the night & the greater part of the day. The Flat Head Indians to the number of 60 to 70 arrived headed by three chiefs, they were all on horseback and came singing and firing guns with a flag flying.[115] We answered their fire with a volley of Muskets. The Chiefs & some of the principle men smoked in the gentlemens' house, & all the others in the Indian House. The weather is so very bad that we cannot well put them out and they will have to sleep through the houses the best way they can. It is too late to trade today.

After dark the men arrived from below bringing letters from Mr. Dease[116] dated on the 4th & 10th inst. and five guns & 4 doz. gun worms which we requested, but no Tobacco is sent which is unfortunate as it is an article which is in great demand and of which I am apprehensive we will be short.—Mr. Dease informs us that we will require to be down in time to meet the Express at the Forks about the 5th of April. Without injuring the trade we cannot reach Spokane so early as our Indians will not have arrived with their spring hunts.

Sunday 18

Sharp frost in the morning.

Commenced trading with the F. Heads and by noon had traded all the articles they had for sale when a present of 20 Ball & Powder & 2 feet of Tobacco was made to each of the Chiefs and a remuneration made two of them at the request of Mr. Ogden, per note, for services rendered the Snake Expedition & assisting in bringing home the Snake furs.—Some others of the principal men got also a present of a few balls & Powder and in the afternoon they all went off apparently well pleased. On account of the bad road and weakness of the horses the greater part of the Flat Heads are not going to (hunt) the Buffalo this winter but are going to pass the winter hunting beaver. This will probably occasion a small quantity of Provisions being procured in spring than usual, but I expect it will be the means of an increase in the more valuable articles of furs.

I have not yet been able to ascertain the amount of the Trade.

115See note 108 on page 189.

116Mr. John Warren Dease, Chief Trader, in charge at Spokane House during this winter.

Monday 19th

Overcast mild weather.

Had the men busily employed packing the Snake furs and also those traded here, in order to send off two canoes to the Coeur de Alan Portage[117] as soon as possible, so that the men may get the canoes back before the ice takes.

Examined yesterdays trade and find it to amount to 222 Large and 107 small beaver, 1 Otter, 4 Robes, 72 Appichimons, 1 Elk Skin, 18 pack saddles, 113 fath. cords, 4 Hair Bridles, 52 Bales, 3122 lbs. dry meat, 119 fresh Tongues, 23 dry Tongues, 2 bosses & 10½ lb. castorum, which is much less than we expected. The greater part of the summer was occupied in pursuit of Buffaloes, which prevented them from hunting beaver, and as they are not going back to the Buffalo at present, they kept a considerable part of their meat to subsist on during the winter.

Some freemen paid us a visit, they were told to come tomorrow with the furs and get some supplies.—

Tuesday 20th.

Soft mild weather.

The freemen A. Paget, C. (Loye), C. Gras Louis, J. Beauchamp & J. B. Gadwa delivered in their furs & received a little advance to enable them to pass the winter. These men would not accompany Mr. Ogden and were not to have received any supplies, but Mr. Dease directed them to get a little in case they delivered in the furs. Paget & Gadwa were unfortunate in losing a cache of 100 beaver which was stolen by the Indians.— Gadwa was ordered to be sent to Spokan. He denies that his engagement was only to be free[118] as long as the Company thought proper and seemed unwilling to go, but on being told that he must comply he submitted, but with reluctance. The Indians traded a few appichimans. The men employed finishing out the packs.

Wed.y. 21

Cloudy cold weather.

The men employed gumming & repairing the canoes. We had no gum till the Indians were employed to gather it, or the canoes would have been repaired yesterday.

The Kootany chief & 6 of his men visited us, and after smoking traded a horse & a few saddles and appichimans.

117The portage mentioned in note 86, page 179, of this Quarterly.

118Free trappers nominally owned their horses, guns, traps and lodges, but usually were in debt to the Company for everything and obliged to turn in their furs to pay the indebtedness. The regularly employed servants were called the engages.

Thursd.y. 22nd

Some snow in the night, cloudy cold weather. Wind N. W.

Sent off 2 canoes 5 men each to the Schachoo[119] Portage laded with the following articles for Spokan viz 27 packages containing 762 Large and 376 Small beaver, 11 Martens, 10 Mink, 1385 Rats, 8 Elk Skins, 12 deer Skins, 70 Appichimans, 22 Saddles & 90 Salt tongues, of the F. Heads and Kootenay returns, and 21 Pieces containing 881 Large & 381 Small beaver, 16 Otters, 2 Rats & 7½ lbs. Castrum, Snake Returns, besides 1 Bale private property, rivits and 5 bales meat 60 lbs. each for the peoples voyage down and back. The above part of the Snake returns is all that was brought here by C. McKay & delivered in by the Freeman.— I wrote to Mr. Dease informing him of the state of affairs of this place and requesting ½ Roll Tobacco and a few awls for the trade.—I wrote for the Tobacco the last time the Canoes went down but was refused it on the plea that it was more required below. I have now urged the necessity of its being sent here where it will be much required in the Spring.—The Men are directed to make all the expedition in their power so that they may get back before they are stopped by the ice, no danger is apprehended of ice stopping them before they reach the portage. Three Men Ignace, Martin & Gadwa are ordered to start for the Fort with the letters immediately on their arrival at the portage.

Friday 23rd

Cloudy cold weather.

The Indians are encamping about the Fort where there are now 21 Lodges. Some are going off to the Buffalo. The Pendent Oreilles are blamed for stealing some of the Kootany horses. It is reported likewise that the Piegans have stolen 7 of the best horses from the Pendent Oreilles that went first off to the Buffalo.

Two Beaver Skins, the carcass of 2 deer & a few appichimans[120] were traded.

One of the old Freemen, Paget, father-in-law to Gadwa who was sent to Spokan, has come & encamped at the Fort he is an old man & having only Gadwa to depend on, he did not go off with the others. he is a very old servant and always bore a good character. After what little provisions he has will be done, he will probably become a burden on the Fort.—

[119]The same as the Coeur d'Alene portage mentioned in note 117, this being Mr. Work's spelling of "Skeetshoo," the name given by David Thompson to the Coeur d'Alene lake and river and Indians.

[120]Saddle blankets, made of skins.

Saturday 24

Cloudy cold weather. Wind N. W.—Some ice along the edge of the River.

The Indians traded a few Appichimans and Saddles, to obtain a little ammunition as some of them are going off.

Sunday 25th

Cloudy, Raw cold weather. Masses of ice running pretty thick down the River.—

This being Christmas Day the two men here had a dram, and we served out extra each a ration of fresh meat, a tongue, & a quart of Flour. For the old freeman Bastang the same.

Five Kootany Indians of the Au platte tribe arrived and traded 14 Large and 4 Small beaver, 1 Otter, 17 dressed Deer Skins and 3 (parrefliches), principally for ammunition & Knives & a little Tobacco. Two Pendent Oreilles traded the carcasses of 2 sheep, females, the one weighed 62 & the other 60 lbs.

Monday 26

Overcast mild weather. the river clear of ice, except some patches along its edge.

The men employed cutting firewood.

Tuesday 27th

Overcast stormy weather. Wind Northerly.

The men employed assorting and bailing up meat.

The Indians are still trading a few appichimans, saddles &c but few furs.—

Wed.y. 28th

Cloudy cold weather. Ice running pretty thick in the River.

The Men finished assorting and baling up the meat, We have now in store 67 Bales, 84 lbs. net each, viz 36 of lean, 19 Back Fat & 12 Inside Fat, or 3024 lbs. Lean Meat 1596 lbs. Back fats & 1008 lbs. Inside fats, in all 5628 lbs. Some of the Indians moving a little further down the River, but as some others are coming up in their place the number of lodges still keeps about 20. Those Indians that remain here employ the most of their time gambling.—

Thursday 29th

Overcast, Snowed thick the afterpart of the day. Ice running in the River.—

[121]The Indians residing along the lower Kootenay river; see note 104 on page 187.

The River below will probably freeze over with this weather and prevent the Canoes from getting up.

Friday 30th

Overcast mild weather, some snow. Ice running in the river but not so much as yesterday. Nothing doing in the way of trade except a chance appichiman, (parrefliches) etc. The Indians occupy the greater part of their time gambling, even where it is snowing they are playing out of doors and a group sitting about the parties engaged watching the progress of the game.

Saturday 31st

Snowed thick in the night and the forepart of the day. The snow lies nearly 6 inches thick on the ground. Very little ice running in the River. The men who were sent off to Spokan on the 22nd arrived in the evening with letters from Mr. Dease and ½ Roll of Tobacco & ½ gross of awls. The men had to leave the canoes yesterday below the Chutes as the Navigation was stopped by ice. They have made a very expeditious voyage.—

Mr. Dease in one of his letters expresses a wish that Mr. Kittson or I would pay him a visit.—Nothing material has occurred at Spokan since we heard from it last.

Jan.y. 1826. Sunday 1st

Stormy with heavy rain the greater part of the day, the snow has nearly all disappeared.

This being the first day of the new year, according to custom, each of the men got an extra ration of 6 lb. fresh venison, 2 lbs. back fat, 1 Buffalo tongue, 1 pint of Flour and 1 pint of Rum.—At daylight they ushered in the new year with a volley of muskerty, when they were treated with 4 glasses each of Rum, cakes & a pipe of Tobacco. With this and the pint given to each of them, they soon contrived to get nearly all pretty drunk. They appeared to pass the day comfortably enjoying themselves without quarreling. An Indian brought us a female (Chiveaux), Round, Skin & all.—

Monday 2nd

Wind N. W. and stormy during the night and all day, but not cold, the snow has all disappeared except on the mountains. No ice driving in the River.

The men doing little today.

The Indians women were sent off to gather gum to repair one of the canoes to make another trip below if the weather continues favorable.—

Tuesday 3rd.

Blew a perfect storm in the night, but calm overcast mild soft weather during the day.

Had part of the men repairing and gumming a canoe & making paddles, the others packing up Appechimons, dressed leather, Robes, Saddles &c making in all 18 pieces or about 2/3 a canoe load, which is all in readiness to start tomorrow, for the Coeur de Alan portage. I intend going myself, with 6 men, to proceed to Spokan. I expect we will reach the portage before the River freezes but we will probably have to walk back.—I am induced to take this trip in consequence of Mr. Dease expressing a wish that either Mr. Kittson or I would visit him.—Mr. Kittson remains in charge of the place.—

Wed.y. 4th

Some frost in the night. Cloudy fine weather during the day.

Left F. Head haven 20 Minutes before 8 oclock in a canoe with 8 Men, Iroquoys, reached the Chutes[122] 20 minutes past 10, Making the portage, which is 1380 yds. long, took more than 2 hours.—At 2 oclock we reached the canoes the men left a few days ago and encamped to change our canoe for a better one, the men were employed till it was dark gumming the canoes we are going to take. The canoe though not deep laden is a good deal lumbered, the saddles & appechimons take up a good deal of room.

There is not much snow, a little ice along the edge of the River & on the banks. The ice that stopped the men going up is all gone.

Two parrefliches & a little meat which the men left in cache is stolen by the Indians.—

Thursday 5th

Overcast soft weather.

Proceeded on our journey at ½ past 6 oclock, reached Stony island portage at 10 & ½ past 10 got across it, the canoe taken down by water, by one oclock we reached the Heron Rapid,[123] the portage here also occupied half an hour, the canoe & part of the baggage got down by water. At ½ past 3 encamped near the Lake. A good days work. The snow is deep at the portage we passed, and also where we are encamped but it is soft and thawing.—It is difficult making the portage as the track is through rough stones & the hollows being filled up with the snow, the men with the loads tumble into the holes before they are aware.

122Thompson Falls, Clark's Fork river, Montana.

123The name still remains and is said to have its origin from numerous small fish resembling herring that were common there.

Friday 6th

Stormy weather with heavy rain, rained hard in the night. Embarked at day light and in an hour reached the Lake[124] where we encamped and had to remain all day it being it being too rough to attempt crossing it.

Saturday 7

Stormy with rain in the night.

Moderate mild weather with some rain during the day.

Embarked at 8 oclock and reached the portage [125] at 3 in the afternoon when the goods were laid up & covered, but it being too late deferred starting for the Fort till tomorrow.

Killed a small deer crossing the River.

Sunday 8

Soft weather with disagreeable sleet & snow showers.—

Set out an hour before day light with 4 men to cross the portage on foot for the Fort and encamped at sun setting at the little River[126] at the edge of the plains after a hard days walking. Two of the mens feet got sore and I sent them back from Rat Lake.[127] Part of the road in the middle of the woods the snow is deep & ? with the thaw but not sufficiently hard to bear ones weight, and walking through it is very fatiguing on the other parts of the road there is little snow.—Met two Indians in the afternoon & got a horse from them but having no saddle & he being very poor it was a most fatiguing job to ride any distance. We rode turn about.

Monday 9th

Soft weather Snow showers. Resumed our journey before 3 oclock in the morning and reached Spokan[128] at 1 in the afternoon, and received a cordial reception from Mr. Dease who with his people were found well. There is little snow on the ground during this day's march. —

Tuesday 10th

Snowed thick the forepart of the day but soft weather & rain in the evening so that the most of the snow had disappeared by night.—

Wed.y. 11

Overcast mild weather some light snow.

124Pend d'Oreille lake.

125North end of Skeetshoo Road and in later years called Sineacateen Crossing.

126Rathdrum creek, probably.

127Hoodoo lake, Kootenay County, Idaho.

128Spokane House, at forks of Little Spokane and Spokane rivers.

Thursday 12th

Weather as yesterday, some light snow and rain showers.

Friday 13

Sharp frost in the night but cloudy mild weather during the day. Have made preparation to return to F. Heads tomorrow.—

Sad.y. 14th

Snowing and raining all day. Having every thing ready left Spokan at 10 o'oclock for the F. Heads accompanied by my own two men, & La Bonte & an Indian with 9 horses for the baggage that I left at the other end of the Portage. On account of the very bad weather and having to go round by the Chutes[129] where we were detained some time in the plains catching two of the Inds horses, we only reached the Fountain[130] in the plain where we encamped for the night. Every one of us completely drenched to the skin.—There is very little snow on the plains.

Sunday 15th

Overcast mild weather some light snow & rain showers.

Some of the horses strayed off in the night, & it was 8 oclock before they were all collected, when we proceeded on our journey and only reached the W. end of Rat Lake. The snow in the woods takes the horses up over their knees so that they were able to make very little way through it. Where we are encamped, the poor horses can eat but very little. Saw the tracks of several deer and some martens.

Monday 16

Overcast mild foggy weather.

Three of the horses strayed off in the night owing to the Indian having neglected to hobble them. I sent a man & the Indian after them, while I with the other men & horses proceeded to the portage[131] where we arrived before noon, the man and Indian with the other horses did not arrive till sun setting. Had all the pieces arranged & ready to send off the horses in the morning, & at the same time set out myself with the canoe. The snow is not so deep at this end of the portage as yesterday.

Tuesday 17

Except a short interval in the afternoon, rained without intermission all day and blowing fresh part of the day.

Had the horses collected at day light and the man and Indian commenced loading them. At the same time I embarked & we proceeded up

129Spokane Falls.
130Some large spring on Spokane prairie; perhaps where Antoine Plante afterward lived.
131Sineacateen again.

the River, and encamped a little Above the lake, a good days march considering the very bad weather. Very little more wind would have prevented us from crossing the Lake. The snow has in several places disappeared but on the hills and along the shores it is still thick.

Wed.y. 18

Overcast fair mild weather.

Proceeded on our journey at daylight and encamped late above the Stony Island Portage.[132] The snow along the shore and particularly at the portages, was very deep.—

Thursday 19

Weather as yesterday but colder.—

Continued our rout at an early hour, and encamped below the Chutes in the evening. About noon we passed the Crooked rapid after which there was very little snow to be seen.

Found some Indians at the Barrier River[133] & traded some Venison from them which made us a good supper.

Friday 20

Snowing and raining all day, very disagreeable weather.

Embarked before sunrising and reached the F. Head House near dark. We were delayed some time at the Chutes gumming the canoes.—Found Mr. Kittson and the people all well.—Nothing material has occurred since I went off. Little done in the way of trade except of fresh provisions, some Inds. from above arrived with 14 deer which has served the people & saved dry provisions for some time back on account of the mild soft weather it is difficult to keep it from spoiling. The men have been employed, getting wood for a canoe, making troughs to (beat) meat & make pimmican, cutting cords, & putting an upper flooring in the house, etc.—

Satdy. 21

Cloudy fine pleasant weather, thawing.—
An Indian brought the carcass of a deer.

Sunday 22

Mild pleasant weather.

[132]Previously mentioned as Isle d'Pierre and impossible to locate with certainty; possibly Cabinet rapids, Clark Fork river.

[133]Possibly the Trout creek, Montana; on main line of No. Pac. Ry.

Monday 23

Cloudy cold weather sharp frost in the night.

Six men with some horses were sent off for canoe timber with which they returned in the evening. The road was very bad as they had to ascend the mountains.—It is difficult to procure wood for canoes here now.—

Tuesday 24

Overcast soft weather. C. McKay and six men were sent up the river in a canoe to an Indian camp in expectation that they will be able to trade some fresh provisions. It is supposed they will be two days reaching the camp.[134] If we be able to procure some venison it will save the dry provisions.—

The Old freeman Paget and a man Pierre, were sent down to Thompson's Plain with the horses where the grass is better.

Wed.y. 25th

Overcast soft mild weather.

Two men employed dressing canoe wood, the others cutting wood &c.—

Thursday 26

Weather as yesterday, some light snow.

The men employed as yesterday. Two Kootany Indians arrived and traded Deer skins principally for ammunition.

Friday 27

Disagreeable cold weather blowing fresh from the Northward. The men bent the timbers for the canoe.

Sata.y. 28

Soft weather some snow.

Had the provisions examined, a little of it was mouldy. put 5 bales on the loft to dry, to beat for pimican.

Sunday 29

Raw cold overcast weather.

C. McKay and the men who went off on tuesday returned. The River is so shallow above that they could not get the canoe to the Indians camp but two men were sent. The Indians have had no provisions and the people were starving when they got a little. Only about two animals are brought home. They brought home the skin of a ram, horns and all, for stuffing.

[134]The large camp of the Flatheads near the lake of that name.

Monday 30th

Snowed in the night and snowing thick the greater part of the day. Men differently employed.

Tuesday 31

Snowing part of the day, but soft weather & thawing. There is now nearly a foot deep of snow.

The men employed cutting and melting down talow.—

Wed.y. 1 Feby. 1826

Overcast soft weather. Some some sleet and rain showers.

Part of the men employed cutting and melting Tallow, & part, pounding meat to make pimican.—

Thursday 2

Sharp frost in the night, and cloudy cold weather during the day. The men employed as yesterday.

Friday 3

Frost in the night. Overcast soft weather thawing during the day. Blowing strong in the evening.

The men employed as yesterday except those that were pounding the meat, who are making a trough as the one already made is broken. Some Indians arrived from above & traded the carcasses of 2 deer & the skin of a (byson). The meat is a seasonable supply as our stock of fresh meat was nearly out.—

Saturday 4

Some snow in the night but clear mild weather during the day.

Had the men employed melting down fat.

Yesterday evening. I gave one of the men Togonche, a boxing for making too free with my wife[135] but being in a passion he got out of my hands before he got enough & to avoid getting another which I promised him he ran off to the woods.

Sunday 5

Clear mild weather.

Monday 6th

Snowed hard in the night and snowing part of the day.

Part of the men employed pounding meat and part, dressing canoe timber.

135Mrs. Work was of Spokane blood and a very intelligent woman.

Tuesday 7th

Stormy in the night with very heavy rain, rain & snow the greater part of the day.

Part of the men employed melting fat the others at the canoe timber.

T. Toganche came to the fort in the night and took away his things, and the other provisions, the others deny that they knew of his going off or where he is gone too. I bilieve they are telling lies.

Wed.y. 8

Rain in the night & rain & snow during the day.

The men employed as yesterday. Nothing doing in the way of trade except a little gum.—

Thursday 9th

Rain & very stormy in the night, mild weather during the day.—The snow is disappearing very fast, there is now very little on the ground.—

The men employed at the canoe, the wood is all dressed.

Friday 10th

Fair mild weather.

Men employed at the canoe and other jobs about the Fort.

Late last night three Kootanies arrived from Flat Head Lake & traded 3 small beaver and few ribs of dried venison, they report that the Kootanies & Flat Heads at the Lake are employed hunting Beaver.—A little Tobacco was sent to the Kootany Chief & some of the principal men, word was also sent for them to be here about the middle or 20th of next month so that we may be ready to get off in good time.

Saturday 11th

Soft mild weather.

The canoe was put on the stocks & the head and stern formed.

Last night another Kootany arrived from the Kootany Fort, & traded 2 large Beaver & 9 deer skins. He reports that the Aue platts & Kootanies in that quarter are also employed hunting beaver.—

The Pendent Oreilles arrived from up the River & brought the carcasses of 7 deer & an Otter Skin. The Venison is a timely supply as our stock of fresh meat was nearly done.

None of these Indians can give us any account of Toganche who deserted some days ago.

Sunday 12

Sharp frost in the night & bleak cold weather during the day.

The Indians who arrived yesterday with the venison went off.—

Monday 13th

Sharp frost in the night. Cloudy cold weather during the day. Four men employed at the canoe & two pounding meat.

An Indian arrived from Spokan, with letters dated on the 3rd Inst. Mr. Dease sends me orders to proceed to Spokan to make out the a/c & leave Mr. Kittson in charge of this place. As I have a particular wish to see the years transactions of this Post finished so that I might be able to make some observations on it, that perhaps might have been useful, I certainly do not like the trip, and think Mr. Dease[136] might have made more judicious arrangements, especially when it is only to make out the Accounts.

Tuesday 14

Sharp frost in the night & very cold all day.

The men employed as yesterday, finished pounding the meat and we are now ready to make it into Pimican to take below to Spokan.

Wed.y. 15

Keen frost in the night, and cold freezing weather all day. The river driving full of ice, which is an unusual thing at this season of the year.

Two of the men employed repairing a canoe to to below to the Le (?) Portage if the River keeps open. Five more men making Pimican. They made 14 bags 80 ls. each.

Five of the Au platte Indians arrived late last night, & today traded 2 Otters, about 500 Rats, and some dressed leather and (Parrefliches).[137]

Thursday. 16

Cold frosty weather but milder than yesterday. A good deal of ice driving in the River.

Two men employed repairing a canoe to go below.—The others at the Pimican, Made 6 more bags & filled 2 bags of Tallow 90 lb. each.

A Flat Head Indian arrived for a little tobacco for his tribe who are now on their way coming in, but still far off.—several are daily arriving from different quarters principally from the Fd. H. Lake and encamping about the fort, they bring nothing except a little dry Venison.—

Friday 17

Overcast freezing weather. Some ice still driving in the River & ice fast along its edges. The water is rising considerably some days past.

136Mr. Dease was suffering from some chronic disease from which he died a few years after at Fort Colville.

137Saddle bags.

Three men employed repairing the canoe.—The others tying up the Pimican & making packs of cords, to go below & doing other jobs about the fort.—

The Flat Head Indian that arrived yesterday went off, he got a little Tobacco for each of the principle men. He made us to understand that his tribe were still in pursuit of buffalo but would soon come off for the fort. They were likely to have a good deal of provisions but he could not say what success they had in the fur way.—

A band of 13 Kootanies principally Auplattes arrived in the evening with some furs.—It was too late to trade.

Saturday 18

Cloudy mild weather, frost in the night. Ice still driving in the River.

The Kootanies that arrived last night, traded 19 Beaver large & small, 1 Otter, 5 martens & 1 fish, 210 Rats, 4 Elkskins, 114 dressed & 5 parchment Deerskins and some (parrefliches), principally for ammunition.—

Part of the men employed at the new canoe, and three finishing repairing the one they were at these two days past, it is now ready and I intended to start tomorrow for Spokan with a load of provisions but the people arriving from the horse guard[138] informed me that part of the River there is frozen over and of course, impassable, a piece of the River above the fort has also been fast some days. In order to ascertain exactly the state of the River below so that we might be able to ascertain whether a passage is practicable or when it is likely to be so, C. McKay & Canotte, who is a good judge of the River, were dispatched to take a view of the water below at different places from which they will be able to judge of the state of the River farther down, they are to be back tomorrow, so that I must defer starting for another day. As Mr. Dease wants two men down also, by taking a canoe & cargo down at present is the only means by which they can be spared. The canoe is also the most expeditious mode of conveyance. We cannot attempt taking down the horses as Mr. Dease suggests, without running the risk of making a very tedious journey, and perhaps losing some of the horses, on account of the great depth of the snow along parts of the road.—The journey on foot must also be, tedious.—Performing the journey in the canoe is decidedly preferable, as it can be done much quicker, & the cargo can be taken down at once & probably not more than three canoes will require to be taken down in the Spring. So that the men wanted below can now be spared which they otherwise could not.

138Herders at Thompson's Prairie, where the horses were pastured.

Sunday 19th

Cloudy mild weather.

Some ice still driving in the River.

C. McKay & Conotte returned & reported that the River is frozen in 4 places where, Portages will have to be made, not very long ones, & that only one place farther down is likely to be frozen at the Cobias. I therefore have determined on starting tomorrow, it will require longer time but it is the only means we now have of performing the journey. From all that we can learn there is too much snow for the horses to be sent down with safety.

Monday 20

Left the Flat Heads early, in a canoe with 7 men & an Indian and 22 pieces Pimican & fat, 1 box candles & my baggage, besides provisions for the voyage, in all about 27 pieces. A little below the Fort we were stopped by ice & had to make a portage at least ¾ of a mile, after which we proceeded to the Chutes, made the Portage & a little farther down the River was again frozen over & we had to make another portage about the same length as the last, but over a much worse road. The ice is too weak to carry upon it & it is difficult to get ashore and a bad road along shore. If we find obstructions of this kind tomorrow the canoe will probably have to be sent back & I will have to proceed on foot, as it would occupy a long time to carry over some of the portages below.—Very disagreeable weather. Snow & sleet heavy in the evening so that it wets everything.

Tuesday 21

Cloudy overcast weather, drizzling rain, sleet & snow the greater part of the day.

Proceeded down the river at an early hour & again soon found our road barred with ice in two places of considerable length, it was, however, so soft that we got our way broken through it with a great deal of labour & damage to our canoe, We crossed the Stony island portage & encamped below it at a late hour. In the forepart of the day there (was) little snow along the River but towards evening it was very deep. At our camp it is not less than three feet. In the morning when I was away with the foreman examining the ice one of the men (Bonufont) deserted and ran off with my old gun and Powder horn, The others said they thought I had sent him for them. This man is almost out of his senses about our peril at the F. Heads which is probably the cause of his running off—I had no idea that he ran off entirely or I certainly would have pursued him with the people & caught him although it would be difficult to find him as there

is little snow in the woods and we had no time to spare.—He will probably go no farther that the fort where Mr. Kittson will stop him.

Wed.y. 22

Snow & rain the most of the day. We were detained some time in the morning gumming the canoe, after which we continued our route & encamped in the evening near the lower end of Pendent Oreilles Lake. We just got across the lake in good time as it began to blow immediately afterwards. ' We met no more obstructions from the ice, but in several places it had very recently broke up.

Thursday 23rd

Very disagreeable cold weather, thick snow & sleet all day.

Embarked at an early hour & reached the portage at noon,—where we got the property all safely laid up & the canoe gummed for for me to return with her tomorrow morning while I start with one man & an Indian to the fort & leave one man to take care of the property, till people & horses come for it.—I am afraid the horses will have a bad job of it as the snow here is very deep. The ice in different parts of the river has not been long broke up.

Passed two Indian camps and lodges and loaded 3 pr. of small snow shoes from them.—The badness of the weather prevented me from setting out for the fort immediately.

Friday 24th

Overcast cloudy weather, snow showers.

At daylight set out for Spokan accompanied by an Iroquoy & an Indian, and encamped at 4 oclock in the afternoon between the big hill and the Lake. The snow on the portage is generally from 3 to 4 feet deep and very soft and on account of the smallness and badness of our snow-shoes walking through it is very fatiguing, when we encamped we were very tired, & had no water, however, by melting snow on a piece of bark at the fire we soon obtained a sufficiency.—We stopped early having only a small axe to cut firewood.

I am afraid, there is so much snow, it will be a bad job getting the property across.

Saturday 25

Overcast, snow and sleet the greater part of the day.

Proceeded on our route at daylight and reached the plain at 11 oclock and encamped at sunsetting at Campment de Bindash, with J.

Finlays[139] sons who were hunting fortunately we fell in with them or we would have had little fire during the night.

The snow continued the same deapth to near the edge of the woods where it was not so deep. There was not much snow on the plains and on the South end we walked without snowshoes.—

Sunday 26

Clear cold weather in the night and mild weather during the day.

Continued our journey at 3 oclock in the morning and arrived at Spokan at 11. Not much snow in the woods & it was so hard that we walked the most of the way without snowshoes. We were well tired. There were some horses on the opposite side of (Schuihoo)[140] plain but we thought it too far to go for them yesterday evening.

Found Mr. Dease & his people all well.

Monday 27

Snowed in the night and the greater part of the day.

It being deemed impracticable to get the property across the portage at present on account of the depth of the scnow, without, the risk of losing some of the horses, Mr. Dease had determined to let it remain some time till the snow thaws.—But a man (Chilifaux) was sent off to give the man who was left behind instructions & leave an Indian with him—and at the same time to bring home some of my things, particularly the box containing the papers.—The Indians would not trust their horses to cross the portage.—

Tuesday 28

Cloudy mild weather, some snow. A good deal of the snow that fell yesterday thawed.

Wed.y. 1

Overcast mild weather. The snow thawing.

Mr. Birnie[141] & the men busy packing beaver these two days.—

Thursday 2

Overcast cold weather.

The people still employed packing furs.

Friday 3rd

Overcast cold weather, the snow thawing a little about the Fort but diminishing very little in the woods.

139Jacques Finlay, clerk of David Thompson, who was in charge of Spokane House in 1811, and after whom Jocko creek, Missoula county, Montana, is named.

140Another attempt to spell the name Skeetshoo.

141See note 79, page 176. Mr. Birnie came to the Columbia about 1820.

Saturday 4

Weather as yesterday. Keen frost in the night.—

Sunday 5

Cloudy mild weather in the middle of the day, but cold in the night morning & evening. Snow dimishing very slowly.—

The men finished packing the furs. I am employed arranging the accounts.

Monday 6th

(Monday, Sunday & Tuesday here given in exact order of original M. S.)

Keen frost in the night. Cloudy cold weather during the day.

The Chiefs we spoke to about horses to carry off part of the furs and property to the Forks,[142] they engaged to furnish 80 horses.

Sunday 7

Clear fine weather but cold & the snow wasting very little.

Tuesday 7th

Cloudy cold weather keen frost in the night.

The men busy tying up the pieces & preparing to go off tomorrow. The Indians collecting the horses.—

Mr. Birnie with 3 men, 13 Indians and 80 loaded horses set out for the forks the first trip. Mr. B. is to remain in charge of the furs & property. Only 4 or 6 pieces of this is private property.

Tuesday 7th

In the evening Cholefaux arrived with my trunk & blankets about 100 lb.—The other things he left.—The snow on the Portage is now very deep, more so than when I passed it is now not less than 4 feet. There is no knowing when horses may be able to pass through it.

The night before Cholefaux arrived at the other end of the Portage some Inds slept there with the man who was left in charge of the goods, & stole a small bag 25 lb. fine pimican.—

Wed.y. 8

Cloudy cold weather, sharp frost in the night.—

Chalifaux was sent off to the Forks to remain with Mr. Birnie.

Thursday 9th

Sharp frost in the night. Cold bleak weather during the day.—The snow wasting very little to be this season of the year.—

[142]The mouth of the Spokane river where the boats were loaded to proceed either up or down the Columbia.

Friday 10

Keen frost in the night, Raw cold weather. Snow in the afterpart of the day.

The men[3] employed with two Indians pressing the fur packs, but had to give it up on account of the snow.

Saturday 11th

Froze keen in the night. Light clouds fine weather though cold during the day.

The people above mentioned employed pressing the furs which was finished in the evening having done 36 packs in the day.

In the evening an Indian with part of the horses that went off to the Forks on tuesday, arrived. the whole reached their destination safe, & the property all in good order, having had dry weather.

Sunday 12

Frost in the night, cloudy cold weather during day.

All the rest of the horses & Indians & men returned from the Forks.

Monday 13

Keen frost in the night.

The men employed tying up and arranging the pieces for the next trip.

Busy all day paying the Indians for their horses for their last trip.

Tuesday 14

Frost in the night, light, cloudy, cold weather during the day.

The Snow is disappearing about the Fort, but going off very slowly.

Wed.y. 15

Cloudy cold weather. The men employed cutting firewood.

Thursday 16

Heavy rain in the night some time in the morning, which has diminished the snow considerably, the valley round the fort is nearly all bare except patches here and there but in the woods and higher ground snow still lies pretty thick & is wasting very tardily.—Mild, soft foggy weather, & the first spring like day we have had this season.—

The men employed cutting firewood in the forepart of the day, afterwards arranging and separating the furs & property to be sent off to the forks on Saturday, in all 60 loads.—The Indians were engaged to furnish sixty horses on that day, for the trip.—

Pere de Jolie Fille was also engaged to cross the (Schuihoo) portage for the property that remains there, he is to go as soon as the road is passable through the snow, which he expects will be in two or three days.

Friday 17.

Raw cold weather in the morning, mild afterwards.—

Had provisions &c., tied up for the party going off tomorrow.—The Indians collecting their horses.—

Saturday 18th

Cloudy, snow & sleet the forepart of the day, snowed in the night, the snow in the morning was nearly 2 inches deep, but it had nearly all disappeared during the day, on the low ground, but on the high ground that faces the north, the snow still remains.

On account of the bad weather the departure of the horses with the property was deferred until tomorrow.

The water in the river has risen considerably, these few days past.

Sunday 19.

Frost in the night & fine weather in the forepart of the day but disagreeable weather with rain and sleet afterwards.

Three men and ten Indians, with the Interpreter Rivit,[143] were sent off to the Forks with 62 horses loaded with Furs, Provisions & Sundries. The after part of the day turned out very unfavorable which was not expected in the morning as the weather was fine.—There is very little property of any kind now remaining.[144]—The women and children also went off today.—

Monday 20

Overcast fair weather in the morning some light showers during the day.—

Tuesday 21

Rain and sleet in the night, but fair weather during the day. The River continues much the same, the water is rising very little.

The Blacksmith & cook, the only two men we have now here, employed collecting all the iron about the place, stripping hinges off doors[145] &c. The Indians much regret our going off, and frequently complain that they will be pitiful when the whites leave them.

143See note 68, page 167.

144Mr. Work and Mr. Dease remain until the arrival of Mr. Kittson with the furs and provisions from the Flathead trading post.

145This marks the end of Spokane House as a trading post. For glimpse of this place in July, 1826, consult David Douglas' account in Oregon Hist. Quarterly, Vol. 5.

The Indians are getting a few trout and suckers in their barrier, a part of which they give us.

Wed.y. 22

Light showers.—

The men employed as yesterday.

Thursday 23.

Sleet & rain showers, rained hard in the night.

The greater part of the Men and Indians that went to the Forks on Sunday last, returned. Notwithstanding the bad weather their property got down safe.—

Friday 24,

Showery weather and cold, notwithstanding the advanced season the snow still lies on the North side of the hills and banks.—

The rest of the people arrived from the Forks.

Late last night two Indians arrived from Coeur de Alan Portage with letters from Mr. Kittson dated F. Head 9th Inst.—The trade was then completed and preparations making to start. The provision trade has been excellent but the returns in furs less than was expected.—War has broken out between the F. Heads and (Piegans.) C McKay is at the other end of the Portage with the horses that were at the F. Heads, he had a bad journey down on account of the depth of the snow, the horses were five nights without eating. The snow on the portage is still near 3 feet deep.—Mr. Kittson was to have proceeded to the Pendent Oreilles Bay but as it is supposed from accounts that that portage is impassable with the depth of the snow, a man was sent off immediately with letters to Mr. Kittson to stop him at the Coeur de Alan portage.—

Some people were sent off to fetch home our horses from the Coeur de Alan plain to be ready to start for the F. Head property. Le Course caulking his boats.—Paid off part of the Indians for their trip to the Forks.—

Saturday 25

Raining the greater part of the day.

The horses were brought to (Birnie's)[146] plains. Paid some more of the Indians for their horses.

Sunday 26th

Rain in the night and the most of the day.

The water in the River rising considerably these few days.—Some snow still lies on the banks and hills that face the North.

[146]Evidently some prairie near the House, possibly the Five Mile Prairie of present day.

Monday 27

Overcast weather.

Martin arrived from Coeur de Alan Portage, in place of Charles who went off on the 23rd who was so fatigued that he could not come back. Martin can also scarcely walk, though he came part of the way on horseback. Mr. Kittson had not arrived at the Portage 2 days ago.— By Indian report he had started from the F. Heads but was detained at Thompsons plains, seeking after one of his men (Benifont) who had deserted.

There is still a great deal of snow on the Portage. Some places it is said to be 3 feet deep.—

The horses were brought home, & the Indians engaged to furnish some more, to go off for the F. Head property tomorrow, as Mr. Kittson is expected to have arrived by the time they reach the Portage.

Tuesday 28

Overcast mild weather.

Rivit, 2 men & some Indians went off to meet Mr. Kittson with about 70 horses.

Wed.y. 29th.

Fine weather, sharp frost in the night.

Old Philip was sent off to the Forks to send home Chalifaux who is there.—

Thursday 30th

Fine weather, but keen frost in the night.

La Course busily employed caulking and gumming the boats.

Friday 31st.

Frost in the night, Overcast mild weather during the day.

Notwithstanding the weather is rather cold, Vegetation is making considerable progress. the ground about the fort is getting quite green, and the bushes are putting forth their leaves and some small plants flowering. The snow, nevertheless still keeps possession of the banks that Front the north.—The River has risen considerably for some days past. The Indians are hungry as they have little to depend upon but moss. They have for some time past got a good many trout from the Barrier but last night it was broken by the height of the water, & they will not be able to repair it.

April 1826 Satd.y. 1

Heavy rain the greater part of the day.

The men employed gumming the boats.

Sunday 2

Overcast mild, soft weather. Mr. Kittson arrived from the F. Heads. he left his people yesterday.—One of the men (Bonenfant) who deserted from me on the 21st. Feby. but was afterwards secured, ran off a second time, when Mr. Kittson sent two men in pursuit of him, One of these Ignace (Astaryan), also staid away & is supposed to have deserted also. Bonenfant made his escape from an Indian lodge before the men got up.

Three of the canoes were broke 2 two of the them sunk, & though none of the property was lost a great deal of it was wet, & though pains was taken to dry it, it is feared from the witness of the weather that a deal of the meat will be much damaged.—

Monday 3rd

Overcast fair weather.

C. McKay & Canotte arrived & left Rivit and the Men this morning. they are to stop the most of the day opening and airing the provisions.

Tuesday 4.

Overcast, weather drizzling rain.

The Men employed tying up some things that were loose in the Store.—

Wed.y. 5

Overcast fair weather.

The people with horses loaded with Flat head returns arrived. The men immediately employed opening and examining the Provisions A good deal of it is wet & getting mouldy. Some of the Bales of leather were also wet, indeed scarcely anything in the canoes missed.—

Busy the after part of the day settling with the Indians for their horses.—

Thursday 6th

Fine weather.

Busy settling with the Indians & paid them up for all their horse hire & services for so far.—

Mr. Kittson & the men drying and packing up the meat.—

Friday 7th

Fair weather.

Had the Indians & Companys horses collected and the property taken to below the Forks,[147] in the boat, the river being too high to cross it on the

[147]Meaning the Forks of Spokane and Little Spokane rivers about three-fourths mile below the House, where the ford usually was. See map in Pac. Railway Reports, Vol. 12.

horses. At past noon I set out with 59 loaded horses and encamped late at the Kettle encampment.[148] Our loads are principally provisions, a few packs of furs & leather.—All Indians but one white man that are with the horses, they are very careful of the property.

Saturday 8th

Clear pleasant weather.

It was some time in the morning before the horses were all collected after which they were all loaded and proceeded on the rout. Mr. Dase and Mr. Kittson shortly come up with us. I accompanied them & we proceeded on ahead and arrived at the Forks in the evening. We had some difficulty crossing a small River[149] that was swelled by the snow melting in the mountains, the current was very strong & the water deep. My horse was carried a considerable distance down the stream. I was completely wet up to the middle it was with difficulty I kept his back as he was different times nearly upsetting by getting on branches or trees.

Sunday 9th

Clear fine weather.

The boats,[150] three in number, which left Spokan yesterday arrived at the Forks this evening, they loaded the cargoes above the little Dalles & the light boats were run down. La Courses boat struck a stone near the mouth of the Spokan river in a dangerous rapid and was broken. She very nearly upset, had she done so everyone on board would have perished. Yesterday the boats fell in with the horses & transported all the property past the little river.

Monday 10

Cloudy weather, sun shining occasionally.

The horses and property all arrived at the Forks safe in the morning where the loads were received.—The Bales of meat were opened to be aired, several of them were a little wet.—Busily employed in the afterpart of the day paying off the Indians for the lend of their horses and their own labour coming to the Forks.—

148Uncertain but probably where the main trail Walla Walla to Kettle Falls crosses the Spokane river.

149One of several creeks entering Spokane river from the south. The road from Spokane House to the Forks evidently followed the south side of Spokane river very closely.

150The boats that had been built at Spokane House during the winter; the Little Dalles are the gorge at Miles, Lincoln County, Wash.

Tuesday 11

Cloudy weather.

The meat was again all opened & spread out to air. —

The Express arrived in the evening, Messrs. McLeod,[151] Ermatinger & Douglas.—They brought 3 pigs & 3 young cows for Fort, Colvile.[152]

Wed.y. 12—

Mr. A. McDonald[153] arrived from Okanagan by land.

Thursd.y. 13.

Two boats sent off to Okanagan landed with furs.—And afterwards 20 of the Spokan horses for the same place to go on to Kamloops to meet the New Caledona people.—

F Rivit, Old Philip & old Paget & Pierre with a number of women and children & all the horses & the young cows, were sent off to Kettle falls. They have a quantity of seed potatoes with them & tools to commence farming immediately.[154]

Friday 14th

Nothing particular,—All busy finishing the account.

Saturd.y. 15th

do do.

Sunday. 16.

The Express for the Mountains. Mr. McLeod & Mr. Birnie, set off in the evening.—One boat 8 men.

Monday 17—

A Cargo was prepared for a boat to Okanagan.—

Tuesday 18

A boat loaded with Packs of furs, appichimons, leather &c. Messrs. McDonald, Ermatinger & myself passengers, Set out in the morning for Okanagan.—

Wed.y. 19th

Arrived at Okanagan in the morning with all safe.—

Met the man that left the forks on the 12th returning yesterday morning. They would reach the forks in the course of the day.—

151John McLeod, Chief Trader, on his way to cross the Rocky Mts., Francis Ermatinger, a clerk, and David Douglas, the botanist from England. For contemporaneous mention of this meeting consult pp. 334-5 of Vol. 5 of Oregon Hist. Quarterly, being Journal of David Douglas.

152This marks the beginning of the pork, beef and dairy business in Stevens county, Washington, in particular, and all the Inland Empire in general.

153Archibald McDonald, then a clerk; the father of Ranald McDonald.

154These people are to become the first residents at Fort Colvile, then being completed on Marcus Flat above Kettle Falls.

Thursday 20

Overcast mild weather. Messrs. A McDonald, E. Ermatinger and Annance,[155] 12 Men and 2 Indians took their departure for Nezperces & thence to Fort Vancouver in a boat, with 12 Packs furs, 15 bales salmon, 4 Bales Appichimons, 1 bale Saddles, 1 Bale leather, 1 Bale Cords & 3 (caffetes). They are to proceed from Wallawalla by land with horses.

I remain in charge of Okanagan till the Brigade goes down. Five men remain with me, two of whom are shortly to go off to Kamloops with horses to meet the N. Caledonia people, and two of them are invalids.—

(No journal kept from Apr. 21 to May 31 inclusive, unless in separate book.)

June 1826 Thursd.y. 1st

Cloudy fair weather.

The men employed gumming the boats.—Yesterday I gave up the charge of the store &c. to Mr. F. Ermatinger[156] who is to remain at this place during summer.—

Friday 2nd

Fair weather.

Men employed as yesterday.—Mr. Connolly[157] arrived about 5 oclock in the evening.—He left his people this morning, they are expected to arrive with the horses tomorrow.

Satd.y. 3

Cloudy, Showery weather.

Mr. Connollys people under the charge of Messrs. Pambin[158] & Douglas[159] arrived late in the evening, 60 loaded horses 85 packs furs & 6 Kegs Castorum.—They have been 25 days from Alexander 10 of which were from Kamloops to Okanagan.—

Sunday 4th

Cloudy mild weather.—

An Indian traded a salmon.—

155Mr. Annance, Chief Trader, had been in charge of Fort Okanogan that winter and Mr. Edward Ermatinger had probably been at Thompson river.

156See note 78, page 176.

157Chief Factor William Connolly from Fort St. James in New Caledonia en route for Ft. Vancouver to exchange his furs for trading goods.

158Pierre Chrysologue Pambrun, a clerk under Mr. Connolly, afterward in charge of Fort Walla Walla; consult Irving "Capt. Bonneville."

159James Douglas, clerk under Mr. Connolly, whose daughter he married, and afterward Sir James Douglas, Chief Factor and Governor of British Columbia.

Monday 5th

Cloudy Showery weather.

Tuesday 6th

Sultry warm weather, some Showers.

Mr. Connolly being very anxious for the arrival of Mr. Deases people, and apprehensive that letters which he sent some time ago had not reached their destination an Indian and a man were dispatched with letters to Fort Colville.—About 1 oclock 2 boats & 11 men with Mr. Douglas[160] & Kittson arrived from Ft. Colvile, with some appichimons, cords, Provisions, &c.—The sending off in the morning is unnecessary.—

Everything made ready to start tomorrow.

Wed.y. 7th

Cloudy Sultry weather.

Departed from Okanogan with 6 boats, Men loaded with pack furs & other baggage.[161] All under the charge of Mr. Conolly, Messrs. J. Douglas, Pambin, Kittson, D. Douglas, & myself passengers.—Started at 8 oclock & encamped to gum the boats at 6 a little above Priests Rapid.—Saw but few Indians on the River, traded some roasted salmon.—The Current is very strong & the water high.

Thursday 8th

Cloudy showery weather.

Continued our journey at 3 oclock and arrived at Nezperces[162] at 7 in the afternoon.—A few Indians along the river.—Traded 6 fresh salmon.—

Friday 9th

Cloudy weather, excessively warm in the middle of the day. In consequence of the rain yesterday evening, the boat and additional cargoes to be taken from Nezperces could not be arranged. Some time was, therefore, occupied doing that business this morning. Near noon the boats all started 8 in number with 45 packs furs in addition to those brought from Ok: and some other property.—Messrs. D. Douglas & Kittson remained.—Our party now consists of 8 boats, 51 men, & 1. C. F. & 3 clerks.—We got on well during the day.—Shortly after leaving Nezperces at Grand Rapid[163] we met an Indian with dispatches from Ft. Vancouver dated 3rd Inst., announcing the Arrival of the Ship. Encamped in the evening below J. Day's River. A good many Indians along the river. —Mr. Black gave the people a horse to eat.

160David Douglas, the botanist, again.
161Constituting what was known as a fur brigade.
162Fort Nez Perce or Walla Walla; Mr. Samuel Black then in charge.
163Umatilla rapids.

Satd.y. 10

Cloudy fine weather, very warm though there was a little breeze of wind.—

Proceeded on our journey at daylight, Passed the Portage at the Chutes[164] and to near the lower end of the Dalles where we encamped to get the boats gummed.—The men had a hard days labour carrying across the two Portages.—There were about 100 Indians at the Chutes, & from 200 to 300 at the Dalles. They are very peaceable. Traded salmon from them to serve the people 2 days.—

Sunday 11

Cloudy, Blowing fresh part of the day.

All hands were in motion at daylight, and after proceeding down a small channel & making a portage at its lower end,[165] continued our rout, but it blew so fresh that we had to put ashore before noon and could not proceed during the day.—The Indians were very quiet during the night, but before they could be all sent off from the camp they made a hole in the sand under the edge of one of the boats & stole a capot from under one of the mens heads when he was sleeping.—There was some trouble getting through the rapids and whirlpools below the Dalles. Traded some more salmon.—

Monday 12

Continued blowing fresh all night and all day, storming in the afternoon. It being a little moderate we embarked at daylight, but had proceeded only a few hours when the wind reversed so that we had to put ashore & remain all day a little below Cape Heron.[166] Some Indians visited us from whom part of a sturgeon was purchased & some other little things.—

A canoe of Indians on their way from the fort below visited us.—

Two Indians who had solicited a passage from the Dalles to Fort Vancouver returned in the afternoon. One of them had the misfortune to lose his gun. It was lying in the oil cloth which being blown up by the wind tossed the gun overboard.

164Celilio Falls and the Upper and Lower Dalles, now charted as Ten and Five Mile Rapids.
165Three Mile Rapids.
166Upper Cape Horn. See note 6.

ELIZA AND THE NEZ PERCE INDIANS

Seventy-six years ago a little six-months old baby sat in her mother's lap in an humble home in the eastern part of what was then known as Oregon. (Oregon then comprised all that section of country lying west of the Rocky Mountains and north of the California line.) The baby was a dark-haired, dark-eyed little girl, and was the joy of her parents, who had peculiar reasons for being attached to her. She was not different from other children of like age, but had the distinction of being the second white American child born on this Northwest Coast, and the first who grew to years of maturity. She is still living, and has been for years a resident of this state, though now living in Idaho.

Her parentage and environment were unusual. On the banks of a swiftly running stream, called Lapwai, which empties into the Clearwater river a dozen miles or so east of the City of Lewiston, in the State of Idaho, was the place of her birth. Their home was a nondescript building, made of logs, eighteen feet wide and forty-eight feet long. A partition, also made of logs, divided it into two rooms, one eighteen feet square in which the family lived, and the other eighteen by thirty feet, which was used for a school and assembly room. It had been a great task to erect that house. There were no teams, and all the logs had to be carried four miles by the Indians. It took thirty men to carry one log. The parents were missionaries, and had lived there about eighteen months, with no white neighbors nearer than one hundred and twenty miles and the only means of communication between them was on horseback.

Now let us go back thirty years or more. In the spring of 1806, when Lewis and Clark were returning back across the continent in their most wonderful exploring expedition, they passed through this section of the country. On arriving at a place called Kamiah, sixty miles east of Lapwai, they found the snow too deep to allow of their crossing the mountains, and were obliged to remain there about a month. They found the Indians of this tribe very friendly and accommodating. They were really a superior race of people. Most of them had never seen any white people before, and none of them had ever seen a black man, like York of that party. Their curiosity was greatly aroused. They even tried to wash the black off from his face. The thirty days or more spent there was mutually very enjoyable, and the memory of it was treasured up in their minds for very many years. It is not known that there were any very religiously inclined men among them, but all knew of the existence of

a God, and Mr. Clark at least is said to have been a church member. It is more than probable that some seeds of Divine truth were dropped into their darkened minds at the time, for twenty-five years later they sent a delegation of four men to St. Louis to get further knowledge of the white man's God, and the book or guide to Heaven. Two of these were elderly men, and two were younger. On arriving at St. Louis, then the emporium of the West, they were cordially received by General Clark, who was then Superintendent of Indian Affairs, having charge of all Indians living in the far West. He remembered well the hospitality he and his company had received at the hands of their tribe a quarter of a century before, and took great pleasure in requiting it in a fitting manner. They arrived in the fall. During the following winter the two elderly men sickened and died. There is a tradition, that just before starting, one of the survivors made the following speech: "I came to you over the trail of many moons from the setting sun. I came with one eye partly open for more light for my people who dwell in darkness. I made my way to you through many enemies and strange lands that I might carry back much to them. I go back with both arms broken and empty. The two fathers, who came with us, the braves of many winters and wars,—we leave them here asleep by your great waters and wigwams. My people sent me to get the book of Heaven from the white men. You make my feet heavy with the burden of gifts, but the book is not among them. When I tell my poor blind people after one more snow that I did not get the book, no word will be spoken. One by one they will arise and go out in silence. My people will die in darkness. No book from the white men to make the way plain. That is all."

There has some doubt been expressed whether the Indian used this exact language. But Mr. Catlin, the Government painter of Indian portraits, and who traveled with them on the steamer going up the Missouri river, and who painted their portraits which are now in the museum at Washington City, is authority for the statement that this was their object. At any rate, their very unusual mission became known among the missionary societies in the east, then in their infancy, and awakened a deep interest in their call for help.

In 1834 the Methodist denomination sent out four single men, two ministers, the Reverends Lee, uncle and nephew, and two laymen, Messrs. Shepherd and Edwards. These men established a mission in the Willamette Valley nine or ten miles from where the City of Salem now stands. Two years later Messrs. Spalding and Whitman followed in their footsteps. They were accompanied by their brides, who, with indomitable pluck, heroism and devotion faced that long and terrible journey from the

Atlantic to the Pacific, and accomplished it successfully. Of their privations and sufferings on that long and toilsome journey there is not now time to dwell. Week after week, and month after month, they traveled on horseback, sleeping on the ground at night, with no house but a tent, and no mattress but skins and blankets; fresh buffalo meat their principal diet, and through tribes of Indians who had never seen a white woman. After many delays and dangers, in November, 1836, Mr. and Mrs. Spalding located among the Nez Perce Indians, the tribe who had sent the messengers east. Doctor and Mrs. Whitman had settled in the Walla Walla Valley, among the Cayuse Indians.

For the first three weeks the Spaldings lived or rather camped in an Indian lodge, the poles of which were covered with buffalo skins with the hair taken off, called parfleshes, until their cabin was prepared. The two missionary couples were one hundred and twenty miles from each other; and neither woman saw the other or any other white woman for a year after their separation.

The following year, 1837, witnessed the birth of two girls, the first white American children born in the Northwest. Alice Clarissa Whitman was born March 4th, and was the first, and Eliza Spalding, born November 15th, was the second. In November, 1837, Mrs. Whitman made her first visit to Mrs. Spalding, bringing her little girl with her, when each child beheld for the first time a white baby. On the 23d of June, 1839, little Alice was accidentally drowned in the Walla Walla river, leaving Eliza as the first white American child who grew to years of maturity.

Mr. and Mrs. Spalding pursued their labors for the benefit of the Indians; she collecting the women and the girls in the assembly room, and teaching them the simple arts of domestic life. Being somewhat of an artist, she also drew pictures representing events recorded in the New Testament, and also the alphabet, which they readily learned. The room was often crowded to its utmost capacity. Men as well as women of mature age, as well as the young people, applied themselves with eagerness. Mr. Spalding would often collect a crowd about a campfire and tell them Bible stories, often somewhat embellished, and he held their attention until long into the night. The interest of the Indians was very encouraging.

The next year, 1838, brought them fresh cheer and assistance in the arrival of a reinforcement to the mission, of which they got Mr. W. H. Gray and his wife, and a Mr. Rodgers, besides which a Mr. Smith and his wife went to Kamiah to establish a mission there. For some reason, Mr. Smith did not succeed at Kamiah and soon left the country. But

with the help of Mr. Gray and Rodgers, Mr. Spalding built a grist mill, bringing the stones forty miles down the Clearwater river. One of those stones is in the collection of curios of the Historical Society in Tacoma. This little mill was very much appreciated by the Indian women, who before that time had to pound their grain and roots in a mortar with a pestle. This was very laborious work for them. In later years a sawmill was also built there.

Messrs. Walker and Eells, who also came at that time, located among the Spokane Indians, where they remained about ten years.

In the year 1839, three years after they commenced teaching the Indians, their hearts were gladdened by the receipt of a printing press, a gift from the native Christians of the Sandwich Islands. With it came a printer by the name of E. O. Hall, who, with his wife, made things brighter for the Spaldings. They immediately went to work with fresh vigor to prepare books and pamphlets for the use of the Indians. A primer, an elementary spelling book, a book of songs, a translation of the book of Matthew, and some other books were prepared. These the Indians learned to use. In their lodges and around their campfires they studied them, and the air often resounded with their songs, they using the books that had been prepared for them. The printing press remained there seven years, when it was taken to The Dalles. It is now in the rooms of the Historical Society of Oregon at Portland. It is interesting to note in this connection the fact that the first printing press was brought to the Atlantic Coast in 1639, just exactly two hundred years prior to the arrival of this one which was brought to the Pacific Coast in 1839.

There were lights and shadows in their work. Sometimes the Indians got tired of their books. At other times they got cranky and lazy. Then there were outside influences that they had to contend with. Some of the missionaries got discouraged and left the mission; but Mr. and Mrs. Spalding labored on. The important results of their work were seen in later years, when a large proportion of the Indians were found to be nominally Christians.

Eleven years passed by when a tragedy occurred, which shocked the whole Northwest, and drove the missionaries from their work and their homes. Many immigrants had come across the plains with their teams, and most of them went on down to the Willamette Valley. In the fall of 1847, however, some fifty or sixty, who for various reasons had found it impracticable to go any further, were stopping temporarily at Walla Walla, at Dr. Whitman's place. There were in all about seventy-five stopping there, including the mission family and attaches. So many white children were among them that a school of English speaking children

was established. It seemed an opportune time for Eliza Spalding, who was then ten years old, to be there, where she could associate with children of her own race, and her father took her down to spend the winter with the Whitmans. Arriving the latter part of the week, Mr. Spalding decided to remain a few days, and on Saturday he accompanied Dr. Whitman to the Umatilla, some forty miles to the south, where there were some sick Indians that the Doctor wished to visit. Dr. Whitman returned the next day, as the calls for him at home were urgent; while Mr. Spalding remained a few days to hold services with the Indians there and do missionary work among them.

On Monday, the 29th of November, 1847, shortly after noon, while Dr. Whitman was sitting in his house, two Indians came in and asked for some medicine, which was given them. While the Doctor was explaining to one of them something about the use of it, the other stealthily slipped up behind him, drew his tomahawk out from under his blanket, and struck him a blow on the top of the head which stunned him. A second blow and he fell to the floor insensible. This was the signal for a general attack. The screams of the women and children, the rapid discharge of firearms, and the yells of the savages made pandemonium let loose. During this affray little Eliza was almost the only one who understood the Indian language, and her terror was increased by knowing what they were saying. At one time, when she heard the order to shoot all the children, she turned her back so she could not see it done, and leaning over the sink, put her hands over her face and listened in terror. But better counsels prevailed and they were saved. During that and the few following days thirteen men and one woman, Mrs. Whitman, lost their lives, a few escaped, and more than fifty women and children were taken prisoners.

Two days later Mr. Spalding started back from the Umatilla, knowing nothing of what had occurred. The same day a party of three, a Catholic priest, a half-breed and an Indian, left Walla Walla to go to the Umatilla. The latter went for the purpose of killing Mr. Spalding. Eliza heard of this, and having learned in some way that the half-breed was friendly, managed to have a little private conversation with him, and implored him to do what he could to protect her father. This he promised to do. They met on the road; but a short time before meeting the Indian had discharged his gun at some game, and stopped to load, and was otherwise engaged, so that he did not see Mr. Spalding. When he overtook his companions nothing was said about having met Mr. Spalding for some time, so that he had quite a start to get away. In the meantime they had given Mr. Spalding the warning, and he had hid in the brush, and although the Indian and his party passed close to him, they

did not discover that he was there. He hid there till it was dark, and then traveling by night, and hiding by day, made his way toward his home, but by a very circuitous route. He was near a week on the way. In the meantime he lost his horse, his shoes gave out, he had but little food, and crazed with grief for the fate of his comrades, tortured with fear for the fate of his daughter, and terribly anxious about what should befall his wife and three small children whom he had left at home, he staggered along until he reached an Indian village in his own neighborhood. Uncertain whether they were friends or foes he listened intently, when he heard them singing. Creeping slowly along, he discovered that they were singing the songs that he and his wife had taught them. A wave of relief swept over him. He was now among his friends. The next day, accompanied by a strong guard, he reached his home, which he found deserted.

It had been looted that very morning. But where were his wife and children? At length they were found secreted in an Indian lodge with some friendly Indians ten miles distant. When he finally found them, all were overcome with emotions too deep to be described. They then all returned to their home under a sufficient guard, where they remained for several weeks, protected by friendly Indians.

In the meantime an express had been sent to Vancouver, the headquarters of the Hudson's Bay Company, apprising the chief factor of what had occurred. He immediately dispatched Factor Peter Skeen Ogden, one of the most tactful men, who made all possible haste to Walla Walla to rescue the prisoners. He was successful. For about four hundred dollars' worth of blankets, beads and other trinkets the Indians delivered to him all at the fort, which was located at what is now Wallula. Negotiations were also entered into for the delivery of Mr. Spalding and family. They, under a guard of forty Nez Perces, finally rode into the fort. There little Eliza fell into her mother's arms with transports of joy too deep for utterance. The last days of December witnessed the departure of all these people from the upper country, who arrived at Oregon City December 31, 1847.

Soon after this, the provisional governor of Oregon, George Abernethy, called for a regiment of volunteers, who went up and fought the Indians. That is what is known as the Cayuse Indian war, the first Indian war in the Northwest. After a campaign of six months, the Indians were driven out of their country and large numbers of their horses were captured. Eventually, through the kind offices of the Nez Perces Indians, five of the murderers were delivered up, and taken to Oregon City, where they were tried, convicted and executed by the authorities.

Mr. Spalding then settled in the Willamette Valley, where he lived for a number of years. Governor Abernethy had issued a proclamation warning all Americans not to settle east of the Cascade Mountains, and for nearly ten years that section of the country was closed to settlement.

Three years after they went to lower Oregon, Mrs. Spalding passed away. Never a strong woman, the excitement, fatigue, and exposure, incident to the breaking up of the mission, and moving to the Willamette Valley, had been too much for her. After a lingering illness, she closed her labors for the cause of her Master, whom she so much loved.

Eliza was now left at the age of thirteen at the head of the household with the care of the family. She had one brother and two sisters. The burden was a heavy one for her young shoulders to bear. In a few years, her father having married, she also married, and for a time disappears from our narrative.

Now let us return to the Nez Perce Indians. After the close of the Cayuse war, for years they were left to themselves. They did not, however, forget the worship of the true God. The books that had been distributed among them, and which they had learned to read, were used continually, and served to strengthen them in the belief and practice of the truths that had been taught them. Seven years passed away, during which time the Territory of Oregon, and later that of Washington, were organized. Governor Isaac I. Stevens had arrived. He was also Acting Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the Territory. With his accumtomed impetuous energy, he had made treaties with most of the Indians west of the Cascade Mountains. In May, 1855, he assembled a large council of Indians in the Walla Walla Valley, to try to make treaties with them. He had with him less than one hundred men. The Nez Perces were the first to arrive, who came, twenty-five hundred strong. While waiting for the others to arrive, Sunday intervened. Governor Stevens relates that the tribe held religious services in their camp, conducted by one of their own number. He commends the good order, interest and devotion manifested by them.

When all had assembled, it was estimated that there were five thousand present. A large proportion were opposed to selling any of their land. There was much angry discussion, and it looked as though the effort would be a failure. Late one night, Lawyer, the head chief of the Nez Perces, came unattended into the tent of Governor Stevens and disclosd to him the fact that a conspiracy had been formed to kill him and his whole party. He proposed that he move his own family into the midst of Governor Stevens' camp; and although it was now past midnight it was immediately done, and word was circulated that he was there for their

protection. The plot failed by this bit of strategy, and their lives were saved.

Matters then took a turn, and in a few days the terms of the treaties were agreed upon. Lawyer was the first to sign, and the others then followed. This result was largely due to the teachings of Mr. and Mrs. Spalding, whose instructions had made Lawyer, who was the head chief, a Christian, as well as so large a following that they controlled, for the time being, the other bands who were there.

However, a few months later the general Indian war broke out, in which a large proportion of all the Indians in Oregon and Washington took part, led by many of the very Indians who had signed the treaties above mentioned. During all of these hostilities, which lasted about two years, the Nez Perces Indians remained friendly to the whites and saved many valuable lives.

By the year 1859, peace had been declared, the Indians having been conquered, and the country east of the Cascade Mountains was opened up to settlement. The next year Mr. Spalding moved his family into the Walla Walla country, and attempted to renew his work among his former Indians. The Indian Service at that time was very corrupt, and he encountered such strong oposition on the part of the agent and employes that he had to desist and await further developments. The influences about these Indians during the next ten or twelve years was very bad. The White Salmon River and the Oro Fino mines had been discovered, and thousands of miners, many of whom were of the worst class, passed through their country.

In 1871, however, the Indian Service had been reconstructed, and what was commonly known as the peace policy was adopted by the government. In accordance with its principles, all religious work among the Indians of the United States was to be encouraged. The way was now open for Mr. Spalding to return to his former field af labor. Twenty-three years had passed since he was driven away, during which time no work had been done by white men to encourage the best, while much had been done to encourage the worst, in them. The Indians received him with open arms. They thronged about him, and a more joyous welcome could not have been given him. The old church organization was resuscitated and during the next three years, while he still lived, he baptized nearly seven hundred of this tribe, and more than two hundred and fifty among the Spokanes, a smaller tribe, where Messrs. Walker and Eells had been stationed. During his last days, not being able to travel about as he had done, he established a boys' school in Kamiah, in which he taught and trained young Indian men to be preachers. But he had not

much longer to live. He was worn out. In August, 1874, he was brought down to Lapwai, where he laid down to die, at the ripe age of seventy-one. He was buried near the same spot where, thirty-eight years before, he had commenced his labors which had accomplished so much for the tribe and the country.

Another chapter in the good work done for the Nez Perces was the advent of the McBeth sisters. Nearly a year before Mr. Spalding's death, Miss Susan L. McBeth arrived at Lapwai under appointment as a teacher in the Indian school. As subsequent events will show, hers was a remarkable Christian character, in every way worthy to be the successor of Mrs. Spalding. The following year she went to Kamiah, and took up the work begun by Mr. Spalding, the training and education of young men to do missionary work among their own people. In addition to her work as a teacher, she was also a missionary, and held services among the Indians there. Although afflicted with partial paralysis, she performed her duties with a heroism and success that was remarkable. For three years she was there alone. When the breaking out of the Chief Joseph Indian war made it unsafe for her or any of the whites to remain there, she, in company with two other white families, fled hastily to Lapwai under guard of forty of the Christian Indians. The war closed in the fall of that year, 1877, but there were still stragglers about, and the agent felt it would be unsafe for her to remain there alone, and under his direction she remained in Lapwai for two years. Some of her students followed her down to Lapwai to receive the benefit of her instruction at that place.

She had now been on that reservation for six years, when in the fall of 1877 her sister, Miss Kate C. McBeth, arrived, and joined her in her work. Together they went back alone to Kamiah, where Miss S. L. McBeth resumed her work teaching the young Indian men, and her sister, Miss K. C. McBeth, opened a school especially for young women. It had been found that however well the young men were instructed and trained, when they wished to marry, they could not find young women fitted to be helpmeets for them; and they deteriorated so much as greatly to impair their usefulness. This new school soon became popular, and was very useful and important. Those were happy days for the two sisters. The church work, the Sunday school services, the Women's Missionary Society, the hearty co-operation, and I had almost said the adoration of the Indians, was very enjoyable. For six years they continued there, supported by the Presbyterian Missionary Society. A part of the time a government school was kept near them, and the intercourse between the teachers of the different schools was mutually enjoyable. About this time the health of Miss S. L. McBeth gradually failed, and there were

changes in the management of affairs on the reservation which did not help the McBeth sisters in their work. At first, during the hot weather, and later permanently, Miss S. L. McBeth removed to Mt. Idaho, fifteen miles distant and across the reservation line. She went there first in 1885. She bought a little home there, and lived in it until her death. Many of her pupils followed her and built little houses in which to live while attending her school. In addition to her other duties, during all these years, she prepared a dictionary of the Nez Perce Indian language, containing upwards of fifteen thousand words, which she left as her legacy. It was a most valuable one. For nearly twenty years she had lived among and for the benefit of the Nez Perces Indians, when her end came. In May, 1893, at the age of sixty years, she passed away. Born on the banks of the Doon, in Scotland, hers was a strong character, and a long and useful life. Loving hands bore her fifteen miles to the little church at Kamiah, near which, on the banks of the Clearwater, she was buried. Her influence, even after her death, was most potent. The young men she had taught and trained lived and labored for others for many years thereafter. Some of them went to preach to the Spokane Indians, some to the Umatillas, some to the Shoshones, and some even followed the prisoners taken in the Joseph Indian war to the Indian Territory, where so many of them died. They were of great comfort to the suffering ones, and finally returned with some of the prisoners to the home land. The high moral tone of the Nez Perces Indians, as well as those living in that vicinity, is largely due to her influence.

As has been said, six years after Miss S. L. McBeth came to the Nez Perces Indians, Miss Kate McBeth, her sister, followed her, and also took up a similar work, especially among the young Indian women. Upon her shoulders has fallen the mantle of her elder sister and now for a third of a century she has been among them. "Miss Kate," as she is familiarly called, is to them the little mother to whom they come for advice and counsel. She has written a book, covering the principal events of their history during the past century, which is valuable, and intensely interesting to any one who cares for information regarding the Indian tribes of the Northwest. From this book I learn that there are now six churches among the Nez Perces, two among the Spokanes, a smaller tribe, and where Messrs. Walker and Eells were for nearly ten years, one among the Umatillas, where was the remnant of the Cayuse tribe who remained friendly during the Cayuse war. Old Istychus, who had led the first wagons across the Blue Mountains, in 1843, when Dr. Whitman was called away to visit the Spauldings, when so many were sick there, who with his band of forty-five Christian Cayuses always remained true

to the faith taught them by Dr. and Mrs. Whitman. There were two other real mission churches, one among the Shoshones, and one among the Chivwits in Utah, eleven in all. These are the results of the work of the early missionaries, among whom the Spaldings and the McBeths were the most fruitful. All of these churches are self supporting, and conduct their own affairs with so much wisdom that at present they do not need a superintendent to care for them. In the Christian Endeavor Convention, held in the Presbyterian church of Tacoma, in 1912, half a dozen well dressed Indian men were there as delegates sent by those churches.

The Nez Perce tribes originally numbered about three thousand, approximately. Their country is especially well adapted for their needs. Consequently they were always well supplied with the necessities of life, and were, compared with the other tribes, well off. They were an unsually high-minded, noble and intelligent tribe. About two-thirds are what are called the Treaty Indians. About half of these are nominally Christian Indians, and all are and always have been friendly to the writes. About one-third are called non-treaty or wild Indians. It was from these that Chief Joseph collected his band, and made war on the whites in 1877; and whom General Howard followed across the Rocky Mountains to near the British line, where they were surrounded, and taken prisoners. They were then taken to the Indian Territory and given land. Many of them died there. Most of the children could not endure the climate of the hot land, as they called it, and wilted away. After eight years of captivity, they were perimtted to return. Those who were willing to come on the reservation were given lands and homes. The others were sent to the Colville Reservation. Among these was Chief Joseph, who steadily refused to return to his own tribe. He felt that those Indians had sold his country without his consent, and he could never forgive them. Perhaps two hundred stuck by him as long as he lived, and since then they have been gradually drifting back. Something like half of the non-treaty Indians joined Chief Joseph in the war. They have now dwindled, so that scarcely one hundred are left who have not come on the reservation. Joseph, himself, died in 1904.

And now let us come back to our Eliza, the first American white child born in the Northwest who grew to years of maturity. We left her married, and living in the Willamette Valley. About the year 1861, she was living with her young family on the Touchet in what was then Walla Walla county. There we met her, being neighbors, although living twenty miles apart, but I saw more of her younger sister, then unmarried, living a mile or so from her home, than I did of her. She soon after returned to the Willamette Valley and our paths diverged, so that we did

not meet each other for a long time. Three years ago we again met at her beautiful home on Lake Chelan. Fifty years had elapsed since we last met. She was then a widow, but well preserved for one of her age. She had been active in religious work, having been superintendent of one or more Sunday schools; and "Grandma Warren," as she is familiarly called, is universally respected and esteemed. She has since sold her attractive home, and is at present living with one of her sons at Dudley, Idaho. She intends soon to return to Spokane and purchase a small home. She is an honor to her family, and to our state, where she has lived for many years, and where she expects to end her days.

EDWIN EELLS.

DOCUMENTS

A New Vancouver Journal

In this portion of the new Vancouver journal (continued from the July Quarterly) we find the party arriving at Nootha and participating in the diplomatic negotiations there with Bodega y Quadra.

It is gratifying to note that the publication is attracting attention. One who has manifested an especial interest is Judge F. W. Howay of New Westminster, British Columbia. He is well known as a student and writer in the field of Northwestern history. He has kindly sent the following notes applicable to the portion of the journal which appeared in the April Quarterly:

"The conventional spelling of the name of Lieutenant John Meares is 'Meares;' and it is thus spelled by all parties to the famous controversy between Meares and Portlock and Dixon (Meare's voyages, p. XXXIV *et seq.*, Portlock's Voyage, p 218 *et seq.*, and Dixon's Voyage, p. 154 *et seq.*) This is also the form in Dixon's Remarks and in Vancouver's Voyage, Vol. 1, Pp. 208-9. Yet in the official copy of the Memorial ordered to be printed 13th May, 1790, Meares repeatedly spells it 'Mears' and so does Duffin; Douglas, on the other hand uses both forms. A comparison of this document with the copy appended to Meares's Voyages shows many alterations in the spelling, doubtless for the sake of uniformity.

"As regards Classet: this is shown on Duncan's chart as 'Cape Claaset.' Vancouver had this chart with him; on page 216 of Volume I, he speaks of it as an 'excellent sketch of the entrance into this inlet.' In the some volume, page 416, he states that he had been given to understand that this was the Indian name; 'but now finding that this name had originated only from that of an inferior chief residing in its neighborhood, I have therefore resumed Captain Cook's original appellation of Cape Flattery.'

"The name 'Green Island,' so far as I know, first appears in Duncan's sketch dated 13th August, 1788, above referred to. In the legend therein it is stated: 'Green Island or To Touch es is about ¼ mile in length; covered over with green grass; on the West Side is a small Cove very narrow and only navigable for Boats; I saw some Canoes go in and out and many Indians on the Beach; on the East Side is a large village, and from the number of Canoes that come to us from thence, I suppose it to be well inhabited.'

"On that sketch Duncan says of the 'Spiral Rock': 'Pinnacle Rock appears to be about 34 fathoms high; its Base in front about 10 fathoms, the Top projects over the rest of it: The sides appear steep; it stands about half way between the Cape & Green Island; the distance between the Cape and the Island is ¼ mile, not navigable to appearance.' "

The Journal will be continued in the subsequent issues and the present editor will welcome any additional information from Judge Howay or other readers. Especially welcome would be information that might help to determine the probable author of the Journal. Mr. A. H. Turnbull of Wellington, New Zealand, who owns the original manuscript has not learned the author of it. The text leaves no doubt that he was a member of the Chatham's crew. That seems all that is known of him so far.

EDMOND S. MEANY.

THE JOURNAL

(Continued from page 224, July Quarterly.)

August 30th. Seigr. Quadra, the Commandant, visited both ships this day when he gave a general invitation to all the officers to his table.

The agency of the Doedalus being vacant by the death of Lieut: Hergest, Captn. Vancouver appoint'd Mr. James Hanson, Lieut: of the Chatham to fill the vacancy, in consequence of which he promoted Mr Johnstone Master of the Chatham to Lieutenant of her in the room of Mr Hanson and a Mr Swaine (one of the mates of the Discovery) to be Master in the room of Mr Johnstone.

The Three Bs. Brig were now building a small vessel here which they had brought out from England in frame, Mr. Alder, the Commander of her, had two other vessels in this expedition under him, one of these was now to the Northward for Furs, the other he expected to meet at the end of this season at the Sandwich Islands. They belong'd to a company of merchants at New Castle.

There was now here a Mr Wetherell, Master of the Matilda, one of the Botany Bay Transports, who was unfortunately wrecked upon some Rocks in the Lat: —— and Long: ——. The crew, except the Chief Mate, were all saved and got safe to Otaheite about a month after we left that place. They had not remained long there before the Jenny, Captn: Baker of Bristol stopped there on his way to this Coast whither he was bound for Furs. The very confined size of his vessel, and the large crew he had, together with his not being provided with a superfluity of Provisions, would not admit of his taking more on board than Wetherell, his nephew and 4 or five seamen all of whom he brought to Nootka. The

rest of the shipwrecked crew remain'd at Otaheite except three who took their boat and proceeded for Botany Bay., Captn. Baker having fitted out their Boat with different necessaries and provided them Provisions &c.

The Matilda had been at Botany Bay from whence after leaving her cargo of convicts she was bound on the Southern Whale Fishery and in her way call'd at Otaheite to refresh her crew, when about a week after leaving the Island, in the dead of night, she struck upon the Rocks where she was unfortunately wrecked, the Rocks had never been seen before. Seigr. Quadra with all that Benevolence & humanity that those who know him, knows he possesses, on hearing poor Weatherell's lamentable tale immediately took him under his protectioin, he supplied with money, invit'd him to make use of his house and Table as his own and at the same time offered to take him, a passengér, when he went himself to San Blas and provide him with an ample sum of money &c. to carry him home to England. Surely there cannot be a greater proof of the goodness of this man's character. Mr Wetherell wisely accepted these offers.

Everything being now got ready for hauling our vessel on the Beach, to look at her bottom, as we conceived she must have received some damage when she was on the Rocks in Queen Charlotte's Sound, the Yards and Topmasts were struck and at high water she was hauled upon the Beach, at this she had everything in her, it being conceived that the Tide wou'd Ebb sufficiently for what we wanted to do to her without taking anything out of her. At low water she was left nearly dry when we found that part of her storn and false keel was knocked off and some copper torn off her bottom so that it was necessary to get her on blocks to repair her and that she must be lightened something in order to do this. Accordingly Blocks were prepared and laid down, the Guns and all the Lumber were sent on shore together with Hawsers & Cables, and some few casks of Provisions and part of the Water in the Forehold was started. The next day the 31st at high water we hove her head on shore but could not get her on the Blocks. More Provisions were now got out of her and the following days, September the first, at high water we hove her on the Blocks. At low water the carpenters repaired that part of the Storn that was knock'd off, which done, the Blocks were shifted forward to get at the False Keel but the next Tides not being high enough, could not get her upon the Blocks.

'Twas now found that it would be necessary to get everything out of the Vessel, in order to get her high enough on the Blocks to repair the False Keel, we therefore on Tuesday the 4th, at high water hove her off and moor'd at a short distance from the Beach to be ready to get on next Spring Tides.

It being supposed that the business between Captn. Vancouver and Seigr. Quadra, on the parts of the respective Courts as to the giving up and receiving this place, *was only a matter of course*, that could produce no difficulties nor differences on either side, and that everything would be settled in due form; the Storeship shifted her berth nearer the shore and the Spanish Storehouses being emptied, parties were sent from the two vessels to help to unload her and house the Cargo in these Storehouses and Captn. Vancouver appointed Mr Orchard his clerk,[25] *Naval and Ordinance Storekeeper.*

About this time a party was made, of which I was one, to pay a visit to Maquinna the King of the Sound at his Village at Tashees, about 15 miles up the sound.[26] Four boats well mann'd and arm'd in case of accident set out on this expedition. The party consisted of Seigr. Quadra and his officers, Captns. Vancouver and Broughton and some of their officers. The weather was fine and the expedition was productive of much variety and amusement. Maquinna received us with all the welcome and Hospitality of a Prince and seem'd much pleased with the honor done him. On entering his house we were conducted up to the end of it where there were seats placed in a long range covered with clean matts. His wives (for he had no less than four) & his children all clean dressed were seated near this end of the house ready to receive us and along the sides within the house were ranged crowds of his subjects. Maquinna had prepared an entertainment for us which was to be exhibited after Dinner, in the meantime the two Captains made the Royal family some handsome presents consisting of Copper, Blue Cloth, Blankets &c.

The frame of Maquinna's house was amazingly large but only the habitable part of it was roof'd, this part was thirty yards long and eighteen broad. The roof was about 10 or 12 feet distant from the ground, and composed of large planks of Fir the ends of which were laid on Beams and were moveable at pleasure. But the size of the Beams and their supporters was what raised in us more surprise and astonishment from the labour they must have cost in placing them in their present situation than any thing else we saw among them. In this house were three of these Beams that run along the whole house, one along each side and the other in the middle. They were of an equal length and thickness. We measur'd one of them, and the dimensions were, in length, sixteen fathoms (or 32 feet) and in circumference twelve feet. They were supported at each extremity by Trees of much the same size on which were carved

[25]This clerk had been honored by having Port Orchard named for him.

[26]The Indians moved from one village to another according to the season. At present they live mostly at the village in Friendly Cove where the transactions referred to took place. The present chief proudly wears the same name Maquinna.

figures resembling (from the formation of the features) human figures but so large, and so horribly preposterous that they were frightful to appearance. The Beams were solid Trees without a Knot in them and varied very little in thickness at either end. At one end of this house were piles of Boxes and Chests, containing their Property and about a foot from the ground was a kind of Platform raised for the purpose of sleeping on & sitting on. It ran along one side of the house and across the ends and was about a yard wide. In a corner of the house was the Royal Kitchen, where the Cooks were busily employed in boiling Oil of different kinds, preparting Stews and Fricasees of Porpoise, Whale, Seal, and such delicious Meats. But the Cooks' trouble & skill was thrown away upon us for we had a far better dinner to sit down to. It was agreed on setting out that Don Quadra shou'd furnish the Eatables and Captn. Vancouver the Drinkables but one would have imagined that Seigr. Quadra's whole Household had been there. A Table was soon raised which was one of the broad planks from the roof of Maquinna's House and we were served up two Courses, *on Plate,* in a style little inferior to what we met with at the Governor's own house. After dinner Maquinna's Entertainment began. It was performed by men and chiefly consisted of a display of Warlike Evolutions. They were most fantastically dressed and I suppose in their best and most showy apparel which was for the most part all of English manufacture, such as Woolens, Blankets, Helmets and a number of other different wearable articles; indeed Maquinna's Brother was habited in a complete suit of Stage Armour that very likely was often the property of Hamlet's Ghost. Their faces were ludicrously painted in all colours among which Red & Black were the predominant and their Hair was richly perfumed with Fish Oil, powdered with Red Ochre & profusely adorned with the down of Birds' feathers. About twenty men, one after the other, and each waiting till the one before him had finished his part, and retired, first appear'd, every one having a musket in his hand. They entered running furiously, making horrid gestures, hallooing & dancing. After these, came in in the same manner an equal number of men having long spears in their hands. Each performer was summoned by a signal given by a number of men who sat near the door and who with small bits of sticks smartly struck a long plank of wood, this was the signal. After each man had made a circuit before the place where we were seated they retired to the opposite end of the house and being now all assembled there they joined in a song which they executed with great exactness in keeping tune and beating the ground together with their different weapons. Some of their songs were not devoid of Harmony. They were all of the Fierce & Warlike style

and subject and one or two of them ended with a frightful Yell that to a strangers ear was truly terrific. Maquinna, dancing, now entered, dressed in a very rich garment of Otter skins with a round Black Hat, and a Mask on, and with a fanciful petticoat or apron, around which was suspended hollow tubes of Copper and Brass and which as he danced, by striking against each other made a wonderful tingling noise. After dancing thus some time in the course of which he play'd some dextrous Pantomimical tricks with his Hat & Mask, he retired and two more songs were sung by the Performers, to which they danced. A man then came forward holding up a Sea Otter Skin and after most pompously and vociferously proclaiming that it was a present from the King Maquinna to Captn. Vancouver, laid it at his feet, then retiring and producing another skin went through the same forms[27] at the conclusion of which they all set up the Finale song and thus ended thsi Entertainment in which there was something grand & curious and well worth coming the distance from Nootka to see alone. As it was by this time late in the Evening, and it would not only have been imprudent but unpleasant to pass the night here we took our departure from Tashees and after pulling a few miles down the arm stopped to pass the night at a clear convenient spot on the Northern short where we erected the small Marquee and other Tents we had brought with us, and with an excellent supper, and much conviviality & pleasantry concluded the day. The following (day) after Breakfast we set out for the Cove, after stopping to dinner on a very pleasant point of an Island and drinking Tea at Mowinna, the Village of Clyquawkini, a chief of the Sound, we got to the Cove about dusk in the evening.

This trip was productive of much amusement, pleasure & variety, every person contributed what they could to render it pleasing, which with the good cheer provided by Seigr. Quadra and Captn. Vancouver made it to be regretted that it was not of longer continuance.

On our arrival at this place it was settled that we (the Chatham) were to winter here, and Mr. Quadra intended to leave the Houses, Gardens &c., in good order for us, but just about this time it was reported that some difference had arose between Captn. Vancouver & Mr. Quadra respecting the right of possession of the English to Nootka, but in so trifling a light was it considered and so very little was it thought 'twould effect the settlement of the business in the manner we conceived that scarcely any notice was taken of it and business still went on the same as ever. Mr. Quadra was making preparation for his departure with all dispatch, and considerable progress had been made in unloading

[27] Evidently the writer here left out some such phrase as "for Seignor Quadra." It may be depended upon that the Indians knew the equal rank and different nationality of the two white leaders and would treat them the same on such an occasion.

the Doedalus. I had forgot to mention that Seigr. Quadra spoke no language but Spanish nor Captn. Vancouver any but English. All business was carried by an interpreter, a gentleman of the name of Dobson, one of the Mates of the Doedalus who fortunately spoke and wrote tolerable good Spanish. I say fortunately for there was not any other person in the Cove that understood both Spanish and English except a servant of Mr. Quadra's and he could only *speak* them.

Maquinna came down from Tashees on the 7th and Captn. Vancouver according to his promise to him exhibited in the evening some Fireworks on shore, that astonished the natives though in a much less degree than I expected, for such is their frigid inanimate disposition that nothing will alter the Muscles of their Countenances, and the greater part of those that were present at this sight showed as much unconcern and were as little moved by it as if nothing of the kind was going on.

8th. This morning arrived here the Spanish Ship (or as they call them) Frigate, Aransasu, Commanded by Seigr. Don Camaano,[28] a Lieut. in the Royal Navy, one of His Catholic Majesty's Ships belonging to the Establishment at San Blas, their only Arsenal on the N. Western Coast of America. She came last from the Charlotte's Islands, which, together with some part of the Streights of Defonte they had this last summer employed surveying.

This Vessel was like all the other vessels in the Service of the King on this Coast to the Southward. They are used for little else than carrying stores &c., from San Blas to their settlements up the River Collerado & on the Coast of California. They are from two to five hundred Tons Burthen, built of Cedar, large, clumsy & ugly, carrying from about 16 to twenty Guns & from 100 to 130 men. They were formerly commanded by Pilots in the Spanish Service *of New Spain*, but since the Nootka disturbance, when Martinez (who then was only one of these Pilots) captured the British vessels, the Spanish Government understanding that the English were surprized, and displeased that a business of so important a nature should have been put in the hands of an officer of such low rank made an alteration in the establishment of the officers of these vessels, they sent out Lieutenants of the Royal Navy to command these Vessels, and the Pilots that before were the commanders became then the second in command on board, there are besides in the establishment two more Pilots, a Padre (or Priest) and a Surgeon. The Aransasu being on an expedition something out of their usual track had a Botanist on board her.

[28]His name is perpetuated by that given to the island lying between Whidby Island and the mainland. American geographers conferred the honor transferring the name from the waters explored by the Spaniard to the land he never saw.

11th. This day arrived an American Brig call'd the Hope, commanded by a Mr Ingram,[29] on the Fur Trade. She had been one summer on the Coast and was now going strait to China with about 450 Skins. Mr Magee own'd a considerable share of this vessel.

The return of the Spring Tides, now fast approached and we began again to prepare for hauling on shore, the remainder of our water, which was of Thames river was started, the Spirits, Provisions, and in short every thing was landed out of her, and the Blocks were again laid down. On the 14th we endeavoured to get her on the Blocks but we found the water would not flow high enough for some days so that we again haul'd off. The same day the English Sloop Jackall arrived, a Mr. Stewart, Master, she is one of a Squadron of three vessels belonging to a company of London Merchants, the principal of which is Alderman Curtis, employ'd on this Coast on the Fur Trade, and afterwards intended to go on the Southern Fishery. The Commander of this expedition, a Mr Brown in a large ship call'd the Butterworth, was now, together with the third Vessel the Prince Lee Boo (a small sloop) to the Northward collecting their cargo. This was their first season, but they had as yet not been very successful. The Jackall came last from the Queen Charlotte's Islands.

On the 15th a very melancholy business[30] was discover'd. A fine little Spanish Boy—one of Mr Quadra's servants, who had been missing about eight & forty hours, was found most barbarously murdered in a small bight within the Cove where the Ships lay. A bloody knife was found lying near him. It is supposed he was decoyed thither by some of the Indians, under the pretence of gratifying an illicit intercourse with one of their women, but no reason could be assigned whatever for the taking away his life. No quarrel was known of that had happened between the Indians and him or any of the Spaniards, on the contrary the Indians enjoyed a happier time since the arrival of Mr Quadra among them that they had ever done since the Spaniards had been first there. None of his Cloathes were to be found but he was left naked with his throat cut in a dreadful manner from ear to ear. He had several stabs and cuts in his arms and on the backs of his hands, and the calves of his legs, and the fleshy parts of his thighs were most Butcherly cut out and supposed to be eaten by the savage perpetrators of this act.

[29]Reference is here made to Captain Joseph Ingraham, who had been at Nootka in 1788 as a mate with Kendrick and Gray. With the latter he returned to Boston in the Columbia and then accepted command of the Hope, sailing from Boston September 16, 1790. He was successful in the fur-trade, wintered in China and returned to Nootka as stated in 1792.

[30]Vancouver's brief account of this strange murder is not much different in conclusion. Both accounts leave the case shrouded in mystery.

When he was carried to the house, and the Indians heard of his being found, those that were in the Cove took instantly to their Canoes, and made out of the Cove, and in a few minutes not a canoe was to be seen, except one, which with four Natives happened to be on board the Hope Brig, but hearing the alarm, and observing the Spanish Boats coming in haste towards them, three of them jump'd into the canoe and got off, the remaining poor fellow had jump'd overboard from the Brig, and was endeavouring to escape by swimming, but he was taken up and carried on shore where he was detained a very short time being supposed innocent of the affair. Maquinna was sent for and Mr Quadra questioned him as to the murder, but declaring his total innocence of the transaction and his ignorance of it at all till he was sent for, nothing more was done and the matter rested. It is surely to be regretted that Mr Quadra's mildness and lenity would not suffer him proceeding further, and with more rigour in this inhuman affair, as it was thought by many, and even by all his own officers he ought, and might have done. But though I myself have not the most distant idea that the murder was committed by any persons but of the Native Indians, and that those parts of the Flesh cut out of the Legs & Thighs were eaten by them, it seems some of the Spaniards had their doubts of this, and did not think it improbable but that it was committed by a Mexican Indian, that had formerly belonged to the Spanish Brig but had deserted some time back and had not been heard of a good while. But this was far from being the general opinion, for the accounts of all that saw the Boy last pretty generally agreed that he was walking along the Beach towards the corner of the Cove with two Indians, and some of these said they saw him embark in a canoe from that place with these Indians and a woman and paddle towards the little Cove where he was afterwards found. But these good qualities, mildness and Lenity, that I have observed Mr Quadra possessed so considerable a share of, are often too mistaken, and are as frequently carried to as great extremes by some as the opposite qualities are by others. Here we may say Mr Quadra was *too good* a man, he even treated the Indians more like companions than people that should be taught subjection. His house was open to them all and a considerable number of them were fed there every day. But such goodness is thrown away on these wretches, they are possessed of no affection, nor gratitude and the man that would profess himself your warm friend today would cut your throat & dine off you tomorrow.

(To be continued.)

BOOK REVIEWS

THE MINING ADVANCE INTO THE INLAND EMPIRE. By William J. Trimble, Professor of History and Social Science in North Dakota Agricultural College. (Madison, Wisconsin. The University of Wisconsin, 1914. Pp. 254.)

This monograph, which was written as a thesis for the doctor's degree while Mr. Trimble was a fellow at the University of Wisconsin, is an epic in spirit, though a work of historical and economic science and expressed in prose. It is the thrilling and romantic story of a movement which, because it eventuated in the creation of civilized society and political order, is of kin with the swarming of the Teutonic peoples into the Roman Empire.

Specifically, it is a study of the beginnings of mining for precious ores in the territories now known as the Inland Empire, and also in parts of the regions adjoining this territory. In addition, it studies laws and institutions originating from the mining industry. It is a significant symptom of appreciation of the Pacific Northwest and especially of this inland district by old institutions of learning east of the Rockies.

Investigation of the subject was rendered feasible through use of such libraries as those of the University of Wisconsin, the University of California, the Province of British Columbia, the Historical Society of Oregon, the Historical Society of Montana, the University of Idaho and the private collections of Mr. Bagley of Seattle, Mr. Howay of New Westminster, Mr. Justice Martin of Victoria and others; and through the generous cooperation of personal authorities on our northwestern history as Professor Frederick J. Turner of Harvard University, Judge Howay of New Westminster, Mr. Elliott of Walla Walla and others. It opens with the statement that the decade following 1858 brought the expansion of American mining on a large scale for gold and silver into many parts of our mountainous area.

Who first discovered gold here is not known. But the vicinity of Fort Colville, Washington, saw the occurrence of a movement in 1855 which ushered in the golden age of the Inland Empire. The miners labored under measureless disadvantages. Supplies were scant. From Puget Sound there were no suitable roads. Steamboating on the Columbia had only begun. The Indians frequently proved a baffling obstacle at first. But the friendship of the Nez Perces for the whites and

the policy of peace pursued by this tribe became a determining factor in the wars with the natives and the development of this new country. In justice to the Indians it is due to admit that conditions for which they were not responsible made the situation ripe for desperate measures on their part.

On November 23rd, 1857, the miners in the neighborhood of Colville effected a rude governmental organization. In 1858 the stern measures of Colonel George Wright brought just and lasting peace to the Indian country and cleared the way for pushing forward the frontier of civilization. In 1861 the final fixation of the boundary between British Columbia and Washington drew clearly the artificial line of different governments where, as Professor Trimble exhaustively and conclusively demonstrates, nature had made one country. Consequently, the political differentiation contributed to making the construction of the famous old Mullan Road in every way an important matter. This noble highway of empire, not unworthy of comparison with Rome's Appian Way, was completed in 1862 at a cost of $230,000 for its 624 miles of length.

In a few years the carriers on the Columbia enjoyed an immense and profitable traffic in the transportation of miners and their supplies. Professor Trimble's description of steamboating on the rivers of the Inland Empire is intensely vivid and interesting. In 1861 came the great movement of miners into these new fields. Among the most important of the localities they entered were the Nez-Perce and Salmon-River districts in northern Idaho.

A swiftly accelerating stream of travel started in 1861 for the new mines. A new era of development began. The Portland Oregonian then predicted that there would follow "tremendous stampedes from California, a flood of overland immigration and vastly increased business on the Columbia." The shrewd forecast of the sagacious editor was fulfilled to the foot of the letter.

Of the total yield from the mining districts in northern Idaho it is impossible to secure exact figures. A conservative estimate would put the production from the time of discovery until 1900, at about $50,000,000, of which probably $35,000,000 were obtained before 1870. In this connection Dr. Trimble rightly directs attention to the fact that the mines of eastern Oregon have not yet received the study that their importance as builders of that part of the state would warrant.

The mines of the Boise basin in Idaho not only were rich and easily worked, but were so situated as to encourage homemaking and the upbuilding of a permanent community. Soon towns with stable interests and

staple industries arose. The mining founders of Boise showed themselves to be exceptionally enterprising and farsighted men.

As the Caribou, British Columbia, mines had shown that in placer fields the individual, once a camp was established, could do little except labor for some one else or in lieu of this prospect for new fields, some form of organized or cooperative effort being essential to the development of mining, even in its simpler stages; so now the War-Eagle quartz-mines of Idaho, remote and newly born, called for outside capital and for science.

The mining advance gave occasion for the creation of British Columbia, Idaho and Montana as political units. In considering the societies that owe their origin to mining it is essential to remember that almost from the moment of discovery cooperation is indispensable in the development of gold-fields and also that the individualism of placer-mining frequently is greatly exaggerated. In the period now under review "the lone prospector" was much of a myth. This and similar seemingly small matters are among the many observed by Dr. Trimble's microscopic eye, which also is not wanting in telescopic range, that show how thoroughly he has surveyed his field and with what scruplous science he has interpreted all his facts.

Prospecting generally was done by organized parties numbering anywhere from five to fifty men. These companies consisted of experienced miners, who usually had already mined in California. Careful preparation in advance was made. An expedition might travel for weeks or even for many months, studying the geology of the land as carefully as professors from great universities and prospecting wherever promising indications presented themselves. When diggings that seemed to afford reasonable liklihood of profit were found, claims were staked out. The plan of the miners' camp corresponded more closely to that of a town than to that of a country district. This feature is another of several which prove that combination, cooperation and organization formed basic features in the work of the miner. It is not the least of the merits of Dr. Trimble's monograph that it enables and in fact compels the lay reader unacquainted with the ways of miners to see that their social and governmental activities were a seed of the political commonwealth and rendered its existence and growth inevitable.

The discoverers of pay-dirt as a rule had to return for supplies to some commercial center. Here the news of a find invariably leaked out and generated a stampede to the new field. Merchants and packers pushed freight-caravans ahead with strenuous but reasoned energy. The man who rushed a well supplied set of teams into a new community

was certain to reap great profits. Before much work was performed by the miners at their Eldorado they held a mass-meeting and organized the community. A judge, recorder and sheriff were elected, and laws for the camp enacted. The political instinct of the English and the Americans for government and ordered society was prompt to manifest itself.

Men who had been schooled in the Californian camps not only had learned to mine skillfully, but turned spontaneously to the form of political organization that the mines of that golden commonwealth had developed. This was the case no less in British than in American communities. Work on claims ceased and universally or almost universally in winter, but might stop at other times, such as seasons of drouth, when want of water handicapped operations. The arrangement gave the miners an opportunity to visit home or to pass the winter at such towns as Boise, Lewiston or Portland. Men seldom thought of making homes for themselves at the Mining camps. But a considerable number would usually remain there through cold weather, and in deep diggings actual mining could still be carried on.

The miner's lot was a most laborious life. It did not consist in picking large, loose nuggets from streams and in spending most of the time on fun or adventure. There were cabins to build—and the skill of American axmen, especially of the Missourians, was greatly admired by English observers—ditches to be dug, flumes and sluices to be constructed, and lumber to be obtained.

The skill of the pioneer Californians in every industry stood out preeminently. Everywhere their methods and judgment were held in high esteem. At Orofino they superciliously sneered that the Willamette farmers in the mines did not know how to sift gold from the dirt, but the Oregonians could have retorted that they were not Californian experts at losing their gold in gambling. But placer mining then, in spite of such skill as that of the Californians, was wasteful work. Men mined to make the maximum of money in the minimum of time. The enormous expensiveness of operation and transportation rendered it profitable to work only the richest gravel. In 1868 Ross Browne, who knew mining conditions better than any other American then living, declared that "since the discovery of our mines there has been an unnecessary loss of more than $300,000,000 of precious metals. The question arises whether it is not the duty of government to prevent, so far as may be consistent with individual rights, this waste of a common heritage in which not only ourselves but posterity are interested."

The early mining communities whose economic basis was placer mines were unstable, and this is a fact of social importance. For the purpose

of overcoming this instability business men, the more substantial miners and governmental authorities everywhere turned their attention to quartz. Working quartz claims and building quartz mills required the use of capital and of corporate methods. The significant development of mining in the Inland Empire during 1860-70 consisted in the supersedure of the surface methods of the placer by quartz mining and in the working of deep placers by corporations. The individual working in informal organization had had free play, but his day was passing. Individualism began to become submerged, capital to become foremost and corporate methods to enter.

What was the total of the product from the labor and capital invested in the mining advance? Until 1867 there was no governmental attempt in the Inland Empire, though there was in British Columbia, to gather statistics. Express companies, however, especially the Wells-Fargo, were a fairly trustworthy source of information. George M. Dawson's estimate for British Columbia and Ross Browne's for the Inland Emipre are regarded by Dr. Trimble as falling well inside the truth. British Columbia during 1858-67 inclusive is believed to have produced $26,110,000 of the precious metals; Idaho, Montana, Oregon and Washington together from the beginning of mining to the close of 1867 to have yielded $140,000,000. Montana led with $65,000,000. Idaho followed with $45,000,000 and Oregon with $20,000,000. Washington brought up the rear with $10,000,000. After deducting the probable production in western Oregon, because this territory lies outside the regions considered by Professor Trimble, the grand total for British Columbia and these four American commonwealths during the decade of 1858-67 appears to have aggregated $156,110,000.

In order to value this stupendous yield aright, it must be borne in mind that nearly all of it was an economic surplus and also in such shape as to be transformed with ease into the commodities of civilization. Consequently civilization's material body sprang forth full panoplied from those early mining communities. This aspect of the mining advance—a phase too frequently forgotten these days—gave the first civilization in the Inland Empire a compelling power and a vitalness that were out of all proportion to the relatively small number of the miners who originated that civilization. This life and energy contributed greatly to the swift development of this Inland Empire after the railroads arrived. The production of so huge and mobile an economic surplus as $156,110,000 of the precious metals helps to explain the greatness of the immigration in the eighties into these mining commonwealths. The farmer, the manufacturer, the merchant and the banker of the Pacific Northwest during

the past generation owe a great debt to the miner of the sixties of the last century.

Nor these only. The nation also is deeply indebted to the economic development wrought here by mining in those far days. The Inland Empire's production of gold during the terrible years of 1861-5, when the republic was pouring out blood and treasure like water to save its life, had great effect in supplying those financial sinews of war on which so largely depended the credit of the United States.

Thus Dr. Trimble threshes out to the last straw the bearings of mining upon government in the Inland Empire, upon agriculture, grazing, transportation and many other interests. What he has done is really to write a history of civilization in these states during their intermediate era.

Every page presents evidence of his competence and trustworthiness. He inspires confidence thro his candid confession that "the student of the history of a section may overrate its importance. * * * It may be that revaluation by comprehensive historians will be necessary." There speaks the historical conscience that rates loyalty to the fact as the supreme good in writing history. But this student has done his work so judicially and with such scholarship, that it will not require to be done again. It is an honor to him and his university and an invaluable service to the Pacific Northwest.

FREDERIC PERRY NOBLE, PH. D.

Spokane, Wn., June, 1914.

MASTERS OF THE WILDERNESS. By Charles Bert Reed, M. D. Chicago, The University of Chicago Press, 1914. Pp. 144.)

This beautifully printed and illustrated little book should find many readers among those who care for the beginnings of American history. Its scope and purpose are well revealed by the brief table of contents as follows: The Masters of the Wilderness, a study of the Hudson's Bay Company from its origin to modern times; The Beaver Club, some social aspects of the fur trade; A Dream of Empire, the adventures of Tonty in old Louisiana.

Dr. Reed has assembled his material in very readable and entertaining fashion. For the benefit of those who wish to pursue the subjects further he appends a brief but serviceable bibliography. The book is one of the Chicago Historical Society's Fort Dearborn Series.

EDMOND S. MEANY.

THE UNITED STATES FEDERAL INTERNAL TAX HISTORY FROM 1861 TO 1871. By Harry Edwin Smith, Ph. D., Instructor in Economics, Cornell University. (Boston, and New York; Houghton Mifflin Company, 1914. Pp. XIX, 357.)

This useful and valuable volume is one in the series which owes its existence to the generosity of Hart, Schaffner and Marx, of Chicago, and the one which received the first prize of $1,000 for the year 1912. Dr. Smith came to the University of Washington this fall to take up work in connection with the newly established courses in commerce. His book is a carefully worked out and scholarly presentation of a difficult and involved subject. The treatment of the subject by Dr. Smith has made easy for the student to get access to the facts for they are all grouped about the separate and single phases of the subject. Following an introduction a chapter is devoted to each subject, as for example the "Direct Tax," "The Income Tax," "The Inheritance Tax," and "Stamp Taxes."

The closing chapters, XI and XII, present concretely "The Influence of Internal Taxes on the Import Duties," and the "Administration" of the whole system. Students interested in these subjects owe a debt of gratitude to Dr. Smith for the masterly and painstaking way he has made available a world of badly scattered material. Nineteen statistical tables give in graphic way the statistical side of the study. An exhaustive bibliography and an adequate index complete the volume.

EDWARD MCMAHON.

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE STATE GOVERNMENT IN CALIFORNIA, 1846-1850. By Cardinal Goodwin, M. A. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1914. Pp. 359. $2.00.)

This book covers the period of California history from 1846 to 1850, dividing the period into three parts. It deals first with the period from the American acquisition of the territory to the meeting of the constitutional convention; then follows the history of the constitutional convention; and the last part deals with the organization of the State government.

Much new material has been used and consequently many accepted facts and interpretations have been proven fallacious. One of these errors was the great influence of New York on the constitution; but Goodwin finds that Iowa contributed about seventy of the hundred and thirty-six articles and New York only twenty. He also has found new material which explains the entrance of the slavery question into the State: a Texan using his slaves for mining claim registry.

The book is well written; it is, however, a bit broken and irregular in its story through following carefully the chronology of events. The conclusion is very disappointing as a resume of the whole book, of the valuation of the new material and of the events. J. N. BOWMAN.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE WASHINGTON BANKERS' ASSOCIATION. NINETEENTH ANNUAL CONVENTION, 1914. (Spokane, Shaw & Borden, 1914. Pp. 232.)

This volume, compiled by W. H. Martin, the Secretary of the Association, gives the Proceedings of the 1914 Convention, held in Walla Walla. All similar records of the proceedings of Washington associations become a part of the institutional history of the state. Of special interest in the present volume is an article on the History of the Walla Walla Valley by Allen H. Reynolds.

THE SEATTLE MUNICIPAL WATER PLANT; HISTORICAL, DESCRIPTIVE, STATISTICAL. By John Lamb. (Seattle, Moulton Printing Company, 1914. Pp. 316.)

This report upon the Seattle Municipal Water Plant is a model for clearness and completeness. It is well printed and well bound and contains many excellent illustrations. It gives a surprisingly full account of the early water systems antedating municipal control.

THE RISE OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. A PHILOSOPHICAL INTERPRETATION OF AMERICAN HISTORY. By Roland G. Usher, Ph. D., author of "Pan-Germanism," Etc. (New York, The Century Co. 1914. Pp. 413.)

An attempt by a well known writer to present for the general reader a lucid account of the results of American History without over-burdening him with the details and processes by which these results were obtained.

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS STUDIES IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES. (Urbana, Illinois, 1913-1914.)

Three of these Studies have been received: The West in the Diplomacy of the American Revolution by Paul Chrisler Phillips, Ph. D., Assistant Professor of History in the University of Montana; The Development of Banking in Illinois, 1817-1863, by George William Dowrie, Ph. D., Assistant Professor of Economics in the University of Michigan; A History of the General Property Tax in Illinois by Robert Murray Haig, Ph. D., Instructor in Economics in Columbia University.

HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES. By Matthew Page Andrews, M. A. (Philadelphia and London, J. B. Lippincott Company. Pp. XVII. 378, XLVIII.)

A text book for schools in which the subject matter is up to date but the arrangement, proporitions and printing are decidedly behind the times.

WRITINGS OF JOHN QUINCY ADAMS. Edited by Worthington C. Ford. (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1914. Vol. 3, 1801-1810. Pp. 555. $3.50 net.)

Volume 1 of this important work was noted in this Quarterly for April, 1913, page 131 and Volume 2 in the issue for January, 1914, page 61. At the chronological rate followed it is likely that the next volume will reach the time when the distinguished statesman began his work on the Oregon question.

THE BALKAN WARS, 1912-1913. By Jacob Gould Schurman. (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1914. Pp. 140. $1.00 net.)

This timely work by the distinguished President of Cornell University is divided into two parts: Turkey and the Balkan States and The War Between the Allies. Each part is supplied with a map and the book carries an adequate index. Interest in the work will, of course, be enhanced by the present war in Europe.

THE PHYSICIAN IN ENGLISH HISTORY. By Norman Moore, M. D., Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians. (Cambridge, England, University Press, 1913. Pp. 57.)

This is the Linacre Lecture, 1913, in St. John's College, Cambridge. It is issued in the same attractive form that characterizes all the works from the Cambridge University Press. Those in the medical profession will find the book illuminating.

WRITINGS OF WASHINGTON RELATING TO THE NATIONAL CAPITAL. (Washington, The Columbia Historical Society, 1914. Pp. 258.)

This may be called a source book on the subject indicated as there is no attempt at narrative or connective matter. The letters are simply reproduced. However, the source of each letter is shown and there is a preface by the compiling committee. The book is Volume 17 of the society's records.

THE YEAR BOOK OF BRITISH COLUMBIA, 1911-1914. By R. E. Gosnell. (Victoria, B. C., by authority of the Legislative Assembly, 1914. Pp. 406.)

This is a reprint of the elaborate Coronation Edition of 1911. Statistics for the years 1911, 1912, and 1913 have been added, bringing those useful features down to date. In the beautiful pictures, as well as in the compiled facts, there is much to serve the historian of the Pacific Northwest.

AN ARTILLERYMAN'S DIARY. By Jenkin Lloyd Jones. (Madison, Wisconsin History Commission, 1914. Pp. 395.)

This extensive work gives the rich details of one part of Wisconsin's remarkable participation in the Civil War. The book is embellished with portraits, the frontispiece being a portrait of the distinguished author. The work is listed as Wisconsin History Commission: Original Papers, No. 8.

A HISTORY OF THE NATIONAL CAPITAL. By Wilhelmus Bogart Bryan. (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1914. Pp. 669. $5.00.) This elaborate history of Washington City carries maps and plans and a copious index. All citizens are interested in this subject, and this new work will undoubtedly find its way to the reference shelves of all the best libraries.

THE BIRDS OF EL PASO COUNTY, COLORADO. By Charles E. H. Aiken and Edward R. Warren. (Colorado Springs, Colorado College, 1914. Pp. 455 to 496 and 497 to 603.)

These two pamphlets are in the College's General Series, Numbers 74, 75 and 76. Besides maps, the illustrations show a fine use of the camera. Other counties of the west would do well to follow the example set in these pamphlets.

THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL COLLECTION FROM THE SOUTHERN INTERIOR OF BRITISH COLUMBIA. By Harlan I. Smith. (Ottawa, Government Printing Bureau, 1913. Pp. 40.)

When Harlan I. Smith was associated with the American Museum of Natural History in New York he did much work on the archaeology of the Pacific Northwest. This new publication shows that he is continuing his work for the far west, though now for the Canadian Government. The book is beautifully printed and is enhanced in value by sixteen full-page

plates, mostly of stone implements. Future students will find the work of prime value.

Other Books Received

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION. Annual Report,, 1912. (Washington, Government, 1914. Pp. 734.)

CANADIAN ANNUAL REVIEW, 1913. (Toronto, Annual Review Publishing Co. 1914. Pp. 766.)

CROSS, ARTHUR LYON. History of England and Greater Britain. (New York, Macmillan. 1914. Pp. 1165. $2.50.)

FRANK, TENNEY. Roman Imperialism. (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1914. Pp. 365. $2.00 net.)

ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Transactions, 1912. (Springfield, Society, 1914. Pp. 233.)

NEW HAMPSHIRE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Manual, 1914. (Printed for the Society, 1914. Pp. 62.)

RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Proceedings, 1913-1914. (Providence,, The Society, 1914. Pp. 66.)

ROYAL SOCIETY OF CANADA. Proceedings and Transactions, Third series, Volume 7, 1913. (Ottawa, Hope, 1914.)

SONNECK, OSCAR G. T. The Star Spangled Banner. (Washington, Government, 1914. Pp. 115. Pl. 25.)

WASHINGTON STATE GRANGE. Proceedings of the Twenty-sixth Annual Session, 1914. (Olympia, The Society, 1914. Pp. 196.)

WASHINGTON STATE FEDERATION OF WOMEN'S CLUBS. Eighteenth Annual Report, 1914-15. (Hoquiam, The Society, 1914. Pp. 135.)

WISCONSIN STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Proceedings, 1913. (Madison, The Society, 1914. Pp. 238.)

NEWS DEPARTMENT

Lewis County Organized

On September 26 the executive committee of the Veterans and Pioneers' Association of Lewis County met in the Chehalis Citizens' Club rooms, Chehalis, and perfected their organization by adopting the constitution and by-laws and by electing the following officers: President, William West, affectionately known as the "Father of Chehalis;" Vice President, I. W. Schultz of Toledo; Secretary and Treasurer, Peter Sommersett of Chehalis; Chaplain, J. R. Buxton of Centralia. The objects of the association are set forth in the constitution as the compilation of historical data of the early days of Lewis County, the preservation of historical relics, the marking of historical places in the county and to further the social relationship among old timers.

One by one each county of the State is forming such organizations.

Death of Curator Gilstrap

On August 2, William Henry Gilstrap died at his home in Tacoma. He was Curator of the Ferry Museum and Secretary of the Washington State Historical Society. He was sixty-five years old at the time of his death. In his younger days he had gained considerable fame in his chosen profession of portrait painting. Later he used his talent in the field of landscape architecture. In later years, however, he was wholly devoted to history. With unusual industry he sought to have the early records preserved and also to have historic sites appropriately marked. He was a quiet Christian gentleman held in high esteem by those with whom he worked.

In Honor of Professor Turner

While Professor Frederick Jackson Turner of Harvard was in the Northwest he was the recipient of many courtesies and honors. One of these took the form of a dinner at the New Washington Hotel, Seattle, on the evening of July 8. The hosts were Professors Richardson and Meany of the University of Washington. Some of the guests had been students of Professor Turner at the University of Wisconsin, while all were, of course, interested in history. Those present were Frederick Jackson Turner, Samuel Hill, General Hazard Stevens, Scott C. Bone, General H. M. Chittenden, Mayor H. C. Gill, Winfield R. Smith, Victor J. Farrar, Edward McMahon, George W. Soliday, J. N. Bowman,

Ralph H. Lutz, Charles W. Smith, Oliver H. Richardson and Edmond S. Meany.

The after-dinner talking took the form of suggestions and plans for improving the work of historical research in the Pacific Northwest.

Good Trails as Well as Roads

Mr. Samuel Hill, long recognized as a leader among good roads advocates in the United States and especially in the Pacific Northwest, has launched on a new campaign to supplement the roads with trails in the mountains. This is a splendid idea and one of the first things necessary is to compile a list of the present trails. This will be helpful to historians for by those trails may many threads of early settlements be traced.

Northwestern History in Congress

The Congressional Record, Sixty-third Congress, Second Session, pages 16571 and 16584, shows that interesting passages of Northwestern history were given to members of the House of Representatives during the debate on coal leases. Congressman Albert Johnson of Washington made a convincing speech to set other Congressmen right as to the acquisition of Oregon through discovery, exploration and settlement and not by purchase.

A Survivor of Many Wars

Mr. Thomas W. Prosch has lately been in receipt of a number of letters from his old pioneer friend, Major Junius Thomas Turner of Washington, D. C. Mr. Turner served in the Mexican War of 1846-47; in 1853 in the Rogue River Indian War; in 1855-56 in the Indian War on Puget Sound, and in 1863-64-65 in the Civil War. He located on Whidby Island in 1853, where he took a donation land claim and where he also served as Auditor, Treasurer and County Judge. He was Chief Clerk at different terms of both branches of the Territorial Legislature. He enlisted in the California Battalion of a Massachusetts Regiment, from which, after a year's service he was discharged that he might accept a proffered Lieutenancy in a Maryland regiment, followed soon by a Captaincy. After the war he engaged in clerical service in the Land Office at Washington, D. C., and later in the practice of law, where he has since remained except for a period in Olympia as Secretary to Gov. Alvan Flanders in 1869-70. Major Turner is now in his 88th year. His other pioneer friends in Oregon and Washington will be pleased to learn that the present Congress has considerably increased his pension, taking into account his advanced age; his disabilities and his services in four wars. Major Turner has a son in the Artillery branch of the U. S. Army, who also has served in the Corps of Engineers.

NORTHWESTERN HISTORY SYLLABUS

[The aim of this department is to furnish outlines that will aid those who wish to study the subject systematically. It is expected that its greatest use will be as a guide for members of women's clubs, literary societies, and classes in college or high schools. It will be a form of university extension without the theses and examinations necessary for the earning credits toward a degree.]

XI. Old Oregon Subdivided

1. Treaty of 1846.
   a. Northern boundary at 49th parallel.
   b. Remnant extended from 42nd to 49th parallel and from Rocky Mountains to Pacific Ocean.
2. New Territories Created.
   a. Washington Territory, 2 March, 1853.
   b. Idaho Territory, 3 March, 1863.
   c. Montana Territory, 26 May, 1864.
      i. Western portion was part of Old Oregon.
   d. Wyoming Territory, 20 July, 1868.
      i. Western portion was part of Old Oregon.

XII. Organization of Washington Territory

1. Two Previous Forms of Territorial Government.
   a. Under the Provisional Government of Oregon.
   b. Under the Territorial Government of Oregon.
2. Agitation for Separate Government.
   a. Long distance to capital of Oregon.
   b. Fourth of July celebrations at Olympia, 1851, 1852.
   c. D. R. Bigelow's oration.
   d. New Territory to be called Columbia.
   e. First Newspaper—The Columbian.
      i. Published at Olympia 11 September, 1852.
      ii. Printed Bigelow's Fourth of July Oration.
   f. Convention at Monticello, 25 October, 1852.
   g. Memorial by Oregon legislature, 4 November, 1852.

3. Action by Congress.
   a. Bill introduced by Delegate Lane of Oregon.
   b. Interesting debate.
   c. Name changed from Columbia to Washington.
   d. Bill passed, 2 March, 1853.
   e. Bill signed by President Fillmore just two days before end of his term.

4. First Governor Appointed.
   a. President Pierce appointed Isaac Ingalls Stevens, 17 March, 1853.
   b. Stevens also given charge of northern route of Pacific Railroad Survey.
      i. In this work he explored a zone 2,000 miles long and from 200 to 400 miles wide and examined nine passes through the Rocky Mountains demonstrating the practicability of a railroad to the coast.
   c. Stevens also obtained appointment as Superintendent of Indian Affairs for Washington Territory.
      i. In this capacity he made ten treaties with the Indians.

5. Other Officers.
   a. Secretary, Charles H. Mason.
   b. United States Marshal, J. Patton Anderson.
   c. United States District Attorney, John S. Clendenin.
   d. Judges of United States District Court, Edward Lander, Victor Monroe, O. B. McFadden, William Strong.
   e. Delegate to Congress, Columbia Lancaster.

6. Government Begun.
   a. Governor Stevens selects temporary capital.
   b. Calls for election of legislature.
   c. Fixes time of meeting.

BIBLIOGRAPHY. The following works will be found helpful and most of them ought to be accessible in the better libraries. In addition there are to be found a number of books published for which prices have been paid for the inclusion of biographies. Some of them contain helpful information.

BANCROFT, HUBERT HOWE. Works of. See Volumes 29 and 30 for Oregon and Volume 31 for Washington, Idaho and Montana. Indexes will guide the reader.

CONGRESSIONAL GLOBE. Thirty-second Congress, December 1852, page 6 and following. Here under the dates of December, 1852, 8 February, 1853 (p. 540), 10 February (p. 555) and 2 March (p. 1020) may be found the debate and action on the bill to establish Washington Territory.

JOHNSON, SIDONA V. Short History of Oregon. Pages 263 to 296 cover the Oregon record here outlined.

MEANY, EDMOND S. History of the State of Washington. Chapters XVI and XVII are devoted to the period of Washington Territory's organization.

SCHAFER, JOSEPH. A History of the Pacific Northwest. Consult chapter XVI entitled "Progress and Politics, 1849-1859."

HISTORY TEACHERS' SECTION

The first article in the June number of VERGANGENHEIT UND GEGENWART deals with the Historical Teaching and Research Institute. It deals with a present-day controversial question in Germany regarding the organization of a school for the better training of professional historians. The Germans recognize that they do not train their men as do the French Ecole des Chartes at Paris or the Austrian Institute for historical research at Vienna. Another article considers the Importance of the Philosophy of History Teaching. It is in a way a review of Fritz Munch's book on Experience and Evaluation. This book as a trenscendental philosophy deals with man in his present position in society and the world; it is the business of history teaching to have the next generation grow into this condition so that the condition may continue. "Civilization is activity. And just because philosophy as science does not create the values is there something in the world to do." The German Land and its Importance for People and State as an article considers the land question for the territories wherever the Germans are located. The last of the articles—History teaching in the United States—is a good interpretation of the high school history subject. It is illustrated with two schedules of the four years' history work. The usual excellent book reviews are in this number.

THE HISTORY TEACHER'S MAGAZINE for September indicates by its articles that it is to continue the consideration of the Ancient History teaching. A good article deals with the European War and History Teachers, and holds that this war must have a deep interest "for every teacher whose mind is at all trained to grasp the true significance of events. The history teacher has now the opportunity to stand as an expert guide for his school community and for the larger community about the school." Two articles consider from different points of view the question of the ends for which history is studied and taught in the grades and high schools. One of them is on the Early Teaching of History in Secondary Schools giving the reasons for this study as seen in texts and books of instruction since 1743. The reasons are arranged as follows: moral training; provision for leisure hours; religious training; patriotism; overcoming international prejudice; training for citizenship; discipline. The second article is on The Reconstruction of History Teaching. Here Professor Gathany analizes the question under the heads of Point of view, subject matter and results. The old school of history teaching, as he calls it,

taught the subject as a body of knowledge and stopped there. The new school does this and goes further to ask other question. In his own words he puts it: "This newer school says: study the past, but don't stop *right* there. Study the past not simply to know the past *because* it is the past, but study the past so as to know how the present has come to be. Don't stop right there even, says this recent school, but go a step further, and study the *present*, so as to understand the life that now *is*. Study the past and the present so that we may intelligently analyze the present and its problems. This school believes that historical facts or events are comparatively of little value unless they have a bearing upon the present world of thought and action. The real function of history teachings according to the new school is to develop *constructive* and *interpretative power* in order that we may rightly judge contemporaneous problems, movements, institutions, and public leaders. We are to study history not for history's sake, but for our sake and for our children's sake."

The book reviews in this number of the History Teacher's Magazine are of their usual poor quality; while the list of recent historical publications is of its usual excellent quality.

INDEX TO VOLUME 5, 1914

Adams, John Quincy, and the Oregon Question. (Meany) 207-214
Adams, John Quincy. Writings. Edited by W. C. Ford. (Note) 61, 217
Adams, E. D. The Power of Ideals in American History. (Note) 147
American and British Treatment of the Indians of Puget Sound. By W. J. Trimble 32-54
American Historical Association. Meeting, December, 1913..153-155
Anderson, Andrew. Death 23
Andrews, Lyman Beach. Death 25
Andrews, Matthew Page. History of the United States. (Note) 317
Bagley, Clarence B. George Wilkes 3-11
Bagley, Clarence B. Review of William's Edition of Canoe and the Saddle 138-142
Bagley, Susannah Rogers. Death 28
Ballaine, John E. Review of Stuck's Ten Thousand Miles With a Dog Sled 227-229
Bassett, John S. Short History of the United States. Reviewed by Edward McMahon 60-61
Bean, Sarah L. Death 29
Beard, Charles A. Contemporary History, 1877-1913. (Note)..145-146
Beard, Charles A. Economic Interpretation of the Constitution of the United States. (Note) 63
Bent, Allen H. Early American Mountaineers. (Note) 62
Bersch, Mary. Death 27
Blanchet, John B. Death 23
Blanpied, Charles W. Coming Immigration Problem on the Pacific Coast. (Note) 148
Bowman, J. N. Review of Goodwin's Establishment of the State Government in California 315-316
Boyd, Levi. Death 23
Bradley, Glen D. Story of the Pony Express. Reviewed by Edward McMahon 57
British Treatment of Indians in the Pacific Northwest. (Trimble) 32-54
Brown, Mrs. Chandler. Death 30
Bryan, Wilhelmus Bogart. History of the National Capital. (Note) 318
Buck, Solon J. Illinois Travel and Description, 1765-1865. (Note) 230
Caldwell, R. P. Death..... 23
(The) Canoe and the Saddle (Winthrop). New Edition. Reviewed by C. B. Bagley 138-142
Canadian Archives, Material for United States history in. (Note) 59-60
Charlton, Charles Alexander. Death 28
Chief Leschi. (Document) 55-56
Christ, Philip. Death 26
Clark, Elizabeth Frances. Death 26
Clay, Henry, and the Oregon Question (Meany) 207-214
Cloquet, August. Death 26
Colorado College Publications. (Note) 318
(The) Columbia River Under Hudson's Bay Company Rule. (Ermatinger) 192-206
(The) Coming Hawaii (Goodrich). Review by Mary Hubbard..229-230
(The) Coming of Canada (Goodrich). Reviewed by O. H. Richardson 57-58

Compton, Charles H. Review of Judson's Subject Index to the History of the Pacific Northwest and Alaska 58-59
Constant, Baron D'Estournelles de. Les Etats-unis D'Amerique. (Note) 146
Cook, James W. Death 29
Current Events Course in University of Washington 152
Darragh, John. Death 22
Dawson, Charles. Pioneer Tales of the Oregon Trail. Reviewed by Thomas W. Prosch 145
Divorce in Washington. By Ralph R. Knapp 121-128
Dixon, Joseph K. Vanishing Race. (Note) 149-150
Daugherty, Thomas A. Death 27
Early Oregon Diplomacy (Meany) 207-214
Early History of Idaho (McConnell). Reviewed by W. D. Lyman. 142-143
Economic Interpretation of the Constitution of the U. S. Beard. (Note) 63
Eells, Edwin, Eliza and the Nez Perce Indians 288-299
Eliza and the Nez Perce Indians. By Edwin Eells 288-299
Elliott, T. C. Review of Stone's Following Old Trails 143-144
Elliott, T. C. Editor. Journal of John Work:
June-September, 1825 83-115
September-December, 1825 163-191
December, 1825-June, 1826 258-287
Ermatinger, C. O. The Columbia River Under Hudson's Bay Company Rule 192-206
Establishment of the State Government in California (Goodwin). Reviewed by J. N. Bowman 315-316
Farrar, Victor J. Appointed Research Assistant in the University of Washington 232
Faucett, Rachel A. Death 26
Fisher, Lydia Ann. Death 25
Following Old Trails (Stone). Reviewed by T. C. Elliott 143-144
Freeman, Rosina. Death 27
Gaillac, Malinda. Death 27
Gall, Joseph Marion. Death 24
Gallatin, Albert, and the Oregon Question (Meany) 207-214
Gatch, Thomas Milton. Death 25
Gendron, Eliza. Death 30
George Wilkes. By Clarence B. Bagley 3-11
Gilstrap, William Henry. Death 320
Golder, Frank A. Leaves for Russia 66
Goodrich, Joseph King. The Coming Canada. Reviewed by Oliver H. Richardson 57-58
Goodrich, Joseph King. The Coming Hawaii. Reviewed by Mary Hubbard 229-230
Goodridge ,Gardner. Death 26
Goodwin, Cardinal. The Establishment of the State Government in California. Reviewed by J. N. Bowman 315-316
Gosnell, R. E. Yearbook of British Columbia, 1914. (Note) 318
Graves, Frank Pierrepont. History of Education in Modern Times. (Note) 148
Gray, William H. Journal from December, 1836, to October, 1837. (Note) 149
Greenlaw, Wilhelmina. Death 28
Haley, John. Death 27
Hardison, James W. Death 24
Harlan, James. Life of, by Johnson Brigham. (Note) 62-63
Heitman, Henry. Death 22
Hill, Samuel, Launchres Trail-building Campaign 321
Historical Society of Southern California. Annual Publication, 1912-13. (Note) 231

History of the Liquor Laws of the State of Washington. By Anna Sloan Walker 116-120
History Teachers' Club. Seattle Meeting 152
History Teachers' Section 158-160; 238-240; 325-326
Hubbard, Mary. Review of King's The Coming Hawaii..... 229-230
Hudson's Bay Company Rule on the Columbia 192-206
Idaho, Early History of (McConnell). Reviewed by W. D. Lyman. 142-143
Immigration Problem on the Pacific Coast (Blanpied). 148
Indians in the Pacific Northwest, British and American Treatment of 32-54
Indians of Puget Sound (St. John)..... 12-21
Indignation Meeting Over Chief Leschi. (Document) 55-56
Jaggy, John. Death 23
Jaggy, Margaret Wintler. Death 26
Johnson, Albert. Speech in Congress on the Acquisition of Oregon 321
Jones, Jenkin Lloyd. An Artilleryman's Dairy. (Note)..... 318
Journal of John Work. Edited by T. C. Elliott. 83-115; 163-191; 258-287
Judson, Katharine B. Myths and Legends of the Great Plains. (Note) 62
Judson, Katharine B. Subject Index to the History of the Pacific Northwest and Alaska. Reviewed by C. H. Compton 58-59
Knapp, Ralph R. Divorce in Washington 121-128
Krumm, John. Death 27-28
Lamb, John. Seattle Municipal Water Plant. (Note)..... 316
Latham, John. Death 27
Laws, Andrew Jackson. Death 23
Leschi, Indignation Meeting Over Chief. (Document) 55-56
Lewis County Veterans and Pioneers' Association 320
Liquor Laws of Washington. History of (Walker) 116-120
Little, Daniel. Death 26
Livingston, David. Death 23
Lodge, Henry Cabot. One Hundred Years of Peace. (Note).... 62
Loomis, Lewis Alfred. Death 26-27
Lyman, W. D. Review of McConnell's Early History of Idaho. 142-143
McConnell, W. J. Early History of Idaho. Reviewed by W. D. Lyman 142-143
McKinlay, David. Death 25
McMahon, Edward. Review of American Histories by Stephenson, West and Bassett 60-61
McMahon, Edward. Review of Bradley's Pony Express 57
McMahon, Edward. Review of Harry E. Smith's United States Federal Internal Tax History 315
Masters of the Wilderness (Reed). Reviewed by E. S. Meany.. 314
Masterson, James. Death 26
Meany, Edmond S. Three Diplomats Prominent in the Oregon Question 207-214
Meany, Edmond S. Review of Reed's Masters of the Wilderness 314
Meany, Edmond S. Editor. A New Vancouver Journal..... ..... 129-137; 215-224; 300-308
Miller, Edward. Death 29
Miller, Eva L. Death 30
Mining Advance Into the Inland Empire (Trimble). Reviewed by F. P. Noble 309-314
Modoc War, Indian History of (Riddle). Reviewed by J. A. Stratton 225-227
Moore, A. C. H. Death 25
Moore, Norman. The Physician in English History. (Note).... 317
Montgomery, Matilda Ann. Death 22
Mountaineering Publications, 1913. (Note) 149

Mountaineer's Lodge, Dedicated June 21, 1914 232
Muhr, A. F. Death 153
Neely, David A. Death 22
Nelson, John M. Death 25
(A) New Vancouver Journal. Edited by E. S. Meany.....
..... 129-137; 215-224; 300-308
Newell, Therese. Death 23
Newhall, William. Death 30-31
Nez Perce Indians, Eliza and (Eells) 288-299
Noble, Frederic Perry. Review of Trimble's Mining Advance Into the Inland Empire 309-314
Northwest History, Legends and Tradition of (Ranck). (Note).. 147
Northwestern History Syllabus. See Syllabus of Pacific Northwest History.
Obituaries, 1913 22-31
Oregon Question (Meany) 207-214
Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association. Meeting at Los Angeles, November, 1913 66-68
Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association. Meeting at Seattle, May, 1914 232-234
Parker, David W. Guide to Canadian Archives. (Note)..... 59-60
Parker, Gilmore Hays. Death 31
Paulin, Charles O., and Paxson, Frederic L. Guide to the London Archives Since 1783. (Note) 230-231
Pettygrove, Benjamin Stark. Death 24
Phelps, Susan E. Death 28
Pioneer Dead of 1913. By Thomas W. Prosch 22-31
Pioneer Tales of the Oregon Trail (Dawson). Reviewed by T. W. Prosch 145
Present Status and Probable Future of the Indians of Puget Sound. By Lewis H. St. John 12-21
Prosch, Charles. Death 30
Prosch, Thomas W. The Pioneer Dead of 1913 22-31
Prosch, Thomas W. Review of Dawson's Pioneer Tales of the Oregon Trail 145
Puget Sound Indians (St. John) 12-21
Ranck, Glenn N. Legends and Traditions of Northwest History. (Note) 147
Reed, Charles Bert. Masters of the Wilderness. Reviewed by E. S. Meany 314
Richardson, Oliver H. Review of Goodrich's coming of Canada.. 57-58
Riddle, Jeff C. Indian History of the Modoc War. Reviewed by Julius A. Stratton 225-227
Rhoades, L. H. Death 27
Rose, Alfred Percy. Death 26
Ross, Eliza Jane. Death 30
Russell, D. L. Death 27
St. John, Lewis H. Present Status and Probable Future of the Indians of Puget Sound 12-21
Scheule, Josephine. Death 27
Schurman, Jacob Gould. The Balkan Wars. (Note)..... 317
Seattle Historical Society. Organized 152-153
Seattle Municipal Water Plant; Historical, Descriptive, Statistical. By John Lamb. (Note) 316
Shaw, James O. Death 25
Smith, Harlan I. Archeological Collection From the Southern Interior of British Columbia. (Note) 318-319
Smith, Harry Edwin. The United States Federal Internal Tax History From 1861-1871. Reviewed by Edward McMahon.... 315
Sparks, Margaret I. Death 24
Spooner, Thomas J. Death 30

Stangroom, Marc Lareviere. Death 29
Stephenson, Nathaniel W. An American History. Reviewed by Edward McMahon 60
Stevens, Mrs. Isaac I. Death 66
Stevens, Margaret L. Death 29
Stone, Arthur L. Following Old Trails. Reviewed by T. C. Elliott 143-144
Story of the Pony Express (Bradley). Reviewed by Edward McMahon 57
Stratton, Julius A. Review of Riddle's Indian History of the Modoc War 225-227
Stuck, Hudson. Ten Thousand Miles With a Dog Sled. Reviewed by John E. Ballaine 227-229
Subject Index to the History of the Pacific Northwest and Alaska as Found in United States Government Documents (Judson). Reviewed by C. H. Compton 58-59
Syllabus of Pacific Northwest History:
Provisional Government of Oregon 69-71
Territory of Oregon 156-157
Review of Boundaries 235-237
Old Oregon Subdivided 322-324
Ten Thousand Miles With a Dog Sled (Stuck). Reviewed by J. E. Ballaine 227-229
Three Diplomats Prominent in the Oregon Question. By E. S. Meany 207-214
Thurston County History 153
Thwaites, Reuben Gold. Death 66
Titus, Eliza. Death 29
Toombs, Robert, Life of. By U. B. Phillips. (Note) 63
Trimble, William J. American and British Treatment of the Indians in the Pacific Northwest 32-34
Trimble, William J. Mining Advance Into the Inland Empire. Reviewed by F. P. Noble 309-314
Tukey, John Fossett. Death 23-24
Turner, Frederick Jackson. Dinner in Honor of 320-321
Turner, Frederick Jackson. List of References on the History of the West 147-148
Turner, Frederick Jackson. Visit to the Coast 66
Turner, Frederick Jackson. The West and American Ideals 243-257
Turner, Frederick Jackson. Work in the Northwest 232
Turner, Junius Thomas. News Note 321
United States Board on Geographic Names. Decisions July, 1912, to July, 1913. (Note) 61-62
United States Federal Internal Tax History, From 1861 to 1871 (Smith). Reviewed by Edward McMahon 315
University of Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences. (Note) 316
Usher, Roland G. Rise of the American People. (Note) 316
Vancouver, Capt. George. A New Journal Kept by a Member of the Chatham's Crew. Edited by E. S. Meany 129-137; 215-224; 300-308
Vanishing Race. By J. K. Dixon. (Note) 149-150
Walker, Anna Sloan. History of the Liquor Laws of the State of Washington 116-120
Walker, Cyrus. Death 28
Washington. Divorce in (Knapp) 121-128
Washington. Liquor Laws (Walker) 116-120
Washington State Bankers' Association. Proceedings, 1914. (Note) 316
Watson, Phoebe C. Death 24
Wertenbaker, Thomas J. Virginia Under the Stuarts, 1607-1688. (Note) 146

(The) West and American Ideals. By Frederick Jackson Turner..243-257
West, Willis M. American History and Government Reviewed by Edward McMahon 60-61
West, References on the History of (Turner). (Note) 147-148
Whitworth, James Edward. Death 26
Wilkes, George. History of Oregon, Geographical and Political (Reprint). Concluded 72-80
Wilkes, George (Bagley) 3-11
Williams, John H. Editor. The Canoe and the Saddle (Winthrop). Reviewed by C. B. Bagley 138-142
Williamson, John R. Death 28-29
Winthrop, Theodore. The Canoe and the Saddle. New Edition. Reviewed by C. B. Bagley 138-140
Wood, Helen R. M. Death 23
Work, John. Journal Edited by T. C. Elliott 83-115; 163-191; 258-287

59148

F 944.01

59148